

ADBUSTERS

THE BIG IDEAS OF 2011

CAPITALISM'S TERMINAL CRISIS

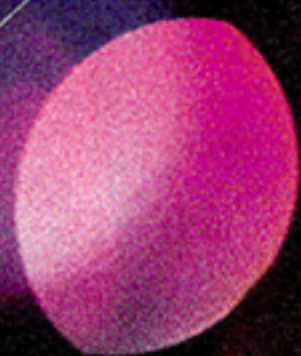


NORTH AMERICAN edition \$ 8.95

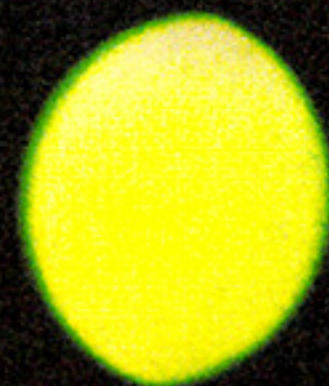
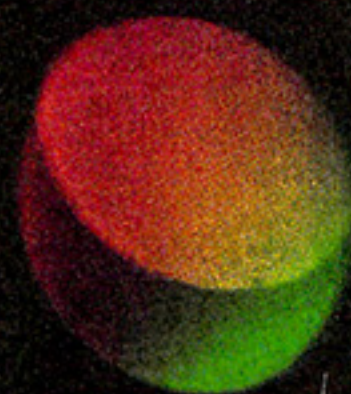


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CONTRIBUTORS

Alex Gross

(Cover image: *Dark Side*) is an artist in the Pop Surrealism movement. His latest book, *Discrepancies*, came out last September.

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(Light motifs) is a New York photographer from São Paulo. He can't live without double espresso and Joy Division.

Matthew Crawford

(*Agency vs. Autonomy*) is a contributing editor at *The New Atlantis*. His latest book, *Shop Class as Soulcraft* came out last May.

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(*The Adventure of a Different Life*) was a leader of the West German Green Party.

Joel Kovel

(*There Is No Greater Responsibility for Intellectuals*) is a member of the Green Party of the United States.

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(*Metameme #1: Zero Growth*) was a close friend of Jean-Paul Sartre and Herbert Marcuse.

Robert Heilbroner

(*Final Reflections on the Human Prospect*) famously said: "Before economics can progress it must abandon its suicidal formalism."

Roland Kelts

(*What's Wrong With Being No.2?*) is a visiting professor at Tokyo University. His new book, *Access*, is coming out November.

Tasos Sagris

(*We Are an Image from the Future*) is a member of Void Network, an anarchist group started in Athens in 1990.

A large, bold, white 'I.' is centered on a dark, grainy background. The background is a high-contrast, black and white photograph of a crowd of people, with faces visible in the upper right quadrant. The 'I.' is composed of a thick vertical bar and a solid white dot.

I.



SEE THE LIGHT



CALVIN KLEIN AD, NEW YORK TIMES, FALL 2010

Calvin Klein

During a dinner with friends the talk turns, as it often does these days, to the problem of anxiety: how it is consuming everyone; how the very technologies that we have developed to save time and thereby lessen anxiety have only degraded the quality of the former and exacerbated the latter; how we all need to "give ourselves a break" before we implode. Everyone has some means of relief - tennis, yoga, a massage every Thursday - but the very way in which those activities are framed as separate from regular life suggests the extent to which that relief is temporary (if even that: a couple of us admit that our "recreational" activities partake of the same simmering, near-obsessive panic as the rest of our lives). There is something circular and static to our conversation, which doesn't end so much as frazzle indeterminately out.

Christian Wiman, *The American Scholar*, Summer 2010



Susannah Saylor, The Canary Project, *Extreme Weather Events IV: Plaquemines Parish, Louisiana, 2005*



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purchase with valid receipt. Ex
store credit must take place in
country of purchase. Please in



Our five-planet lifestyles are the primary cause of the floods in Pakistan.



Tommy Ton

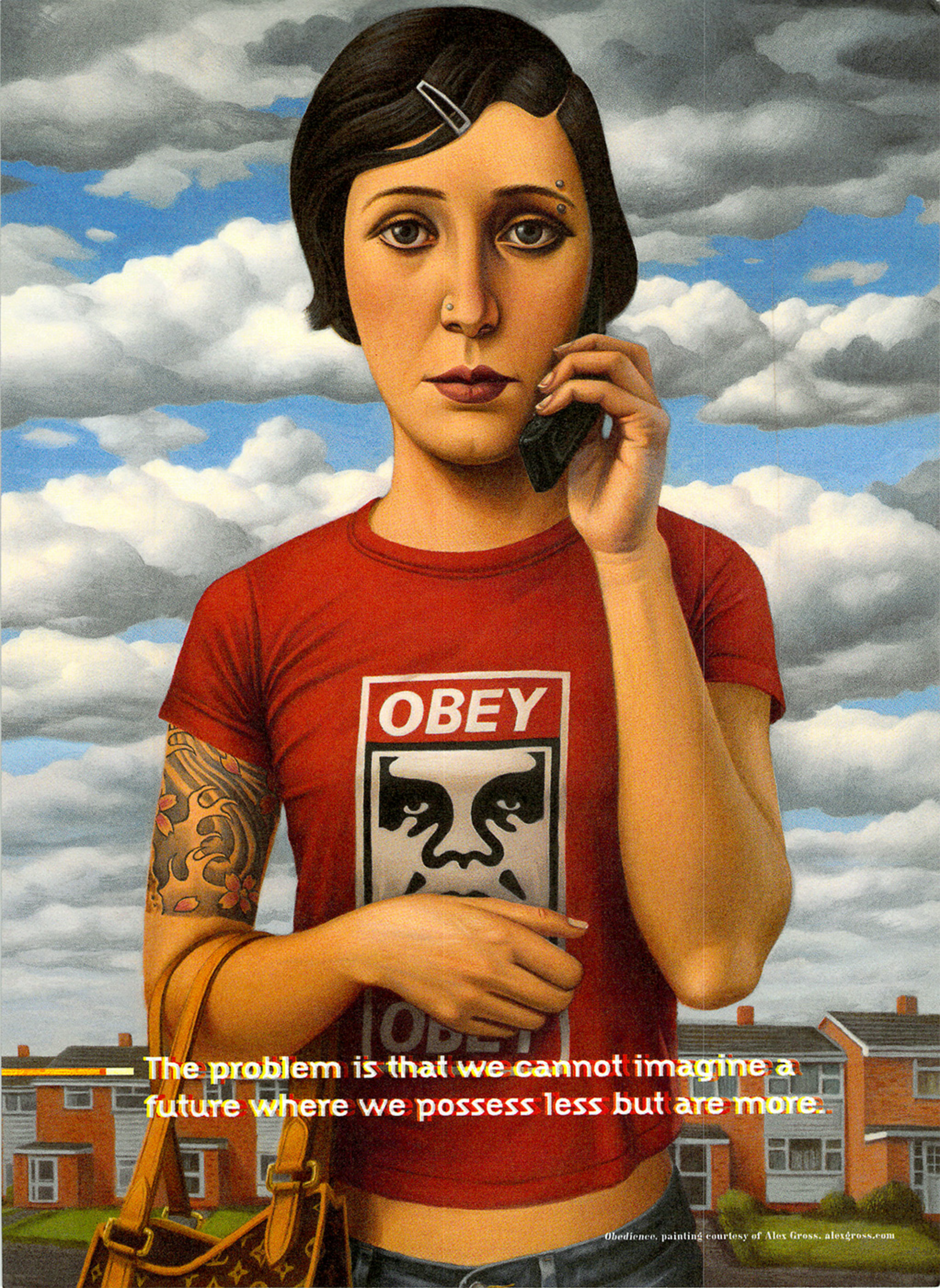


In the most likely scenarios, climate change would cause some kind of regional or continental disruption, like a major crop failure; this disruption would cascade through the world's tightly connected economic and political systems to produce a global effect. Severe floods dislocating millions of people in a key poor country – as we're seeing right now in Pakistan – could allow radicals to seize power and tip a geopolitically vital region into war. Or drought could cause an economically critical region like the North China plain to exhaust its water reserves, forcing people to leave en masse and precipitating a crisis that reverberates through the world economy. **Thomas Homer-Dixon**

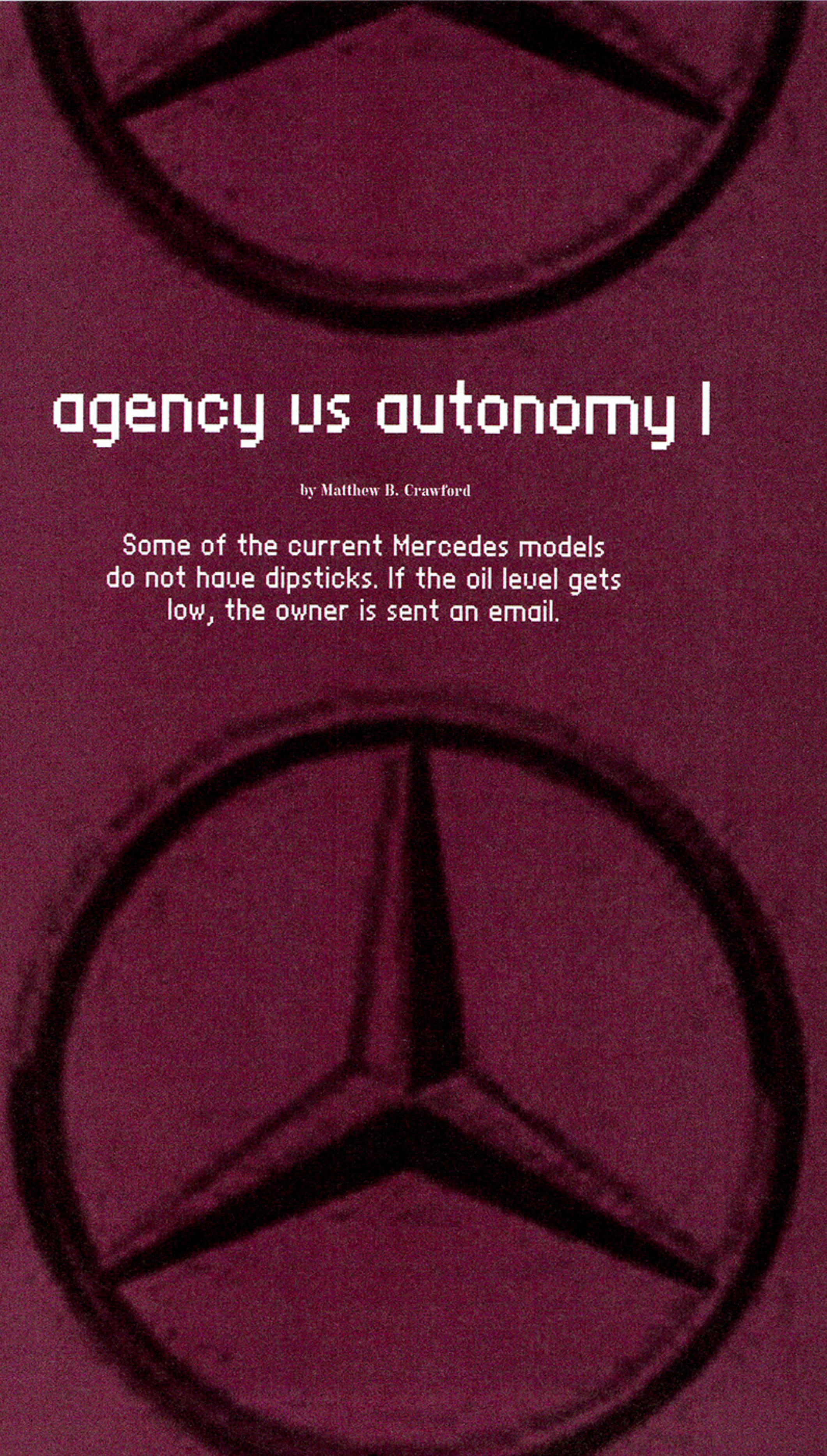
An aerial photograph of a multi-lane highway interchange with several overpasses. A white pentagon is superimposed on the center of the image, framing the text. The text is in white, all-caps, sans-serif font.

THE HOUSE
THE CAR
THE THINGS

Imagine the problem is not physical. Imagine the problem has never been physical, that it is not biodiversity, it is not the ozone layer, it is not the greenhouse effect, the whales, the old-growth forest, the loss of jobs, the crack in the ghetto, the abortions, the tongue in the mouth, the diseases stalking everywhere as love goes on unconcerned. Imagine the problem is not some syndrome of our society that can be solved by commissions or laws or a redistribution of what we call wealth. Imagine that it goes deeper, right to the core of what we call our civilization and that no one outside of ourselves can effect real change, that our civilization, our government are sick and that we are mentally ill and spiritually dead — that all our issues and crises are symptoms of this deeper sickness.



The problem is that we cannot imagine a future where we possess less but are more.



agency vs autonomy I

by Matthew B. Crawford

Some of the current Mercedes models do not have dipsticks. If the oil level gets low, the owner is sent an email.

This serves nicely as an index of a shift in our relationship to machines. Lubrication has been recast, for the user, in the frictionless terms of the electronic device. In those terms, lubrication has no rationale and ceases to be an object of active concern for anyone but the service technician. In a sense this increases the freedom of the Mercedes user. He has gained a kind of independence by not having to futz around with dipsticks and dirt rags.

But in another sense it makes him more dependent. He has outsourced the burden of paying attention to his oil level to another, and the price he pays for this disburdenment is that he is entangled in a more minute, all-embracing, one might almost say maternal relationship with ... what? Not with the service technician at the dealership, at least not directly, as there are layers of bureaucracy that intervene: the dealership that employs the technician; Daimler AG, Stuttgart, Germany, that holds the service plan and warranty on its balance sheet; and finally Mercedes shareholders, unknown to one another, who collectively dissipate the financial risk of an engine running low on oil. There are now layers of collectivized, absentee interest in a car's oil level and no single person is responsible for it. If you understand this under the rubric of globalization, you see that the tentacles of that wondrous creature reach down into things that were once unambiguously your own: the amount of oil in your crankcase.

It used to be that, in addition to a dipstick, you had something called an "idiot light." One can be sure that the current system is not referred to in the Mercedes owner's manual as the "idiot system," as the harsh judgment carried by that term no longer makes any sense to us. By some inscrutable cultural logic, idiocy – that is, a lack of involvement – gets recast as something desirable.

It is important to understand that there has been no high-tech development that makes it no longer important to stay on top of oil consumption and leakage. With enough miles, oil is still consumed, and it will still leak; running low on oil will still trash the motor. There is nothing magical about Mercedes, though such a superstition is encouraged by the absence of a dipstick. The facts of physics have not changed; what has changed is the place of those facts in our consciousness.

Mental and bodily involvement with the machines we use entails a kind of agency. Yet the decline of such involvement, through technological accretions intended to make our machine less obtrusive, is precisely the development that makes for an increase in autonomy. Is there a paradox here? Not having to futz around with machines, we are free to simply use them for our purposes. There seems to be a tension between a certain kind of agency and a certain kind of autonomy, and this is worth thinking about. In particular, there is a tension between autonomy understood as the limitless choice of an unfettered self (let's call this freedomism – the anthropology that is tacit in much advertising) and the kind of agency that is exercised in any skillful performance.

In any hard discipline, whether it be gardening, structural engineering or learning Russian, one submits to things that have their own intractable ways. An "authoritative structure which commands my respect" is not a commodity. Consumerism might be understood as the tendency to replace such demanding structures and disciplines with undemanding, quasi-substitutes. As Albert Borgmann writes, a musical instrument is "arduous to master and limited in its range," whereas a stereo is undemanding and makes every sort of music instantly available.

The modern personality is being reorganized on a predicate of passive consumption and this starts early in life. One of the hottest things at the shopping mall right now is a store called Build-A-Bear Workshop, where children are said to make their own teddy bears. I went in one of these stores and it turns out that what the kid actually does is select the features and clothes for the bear on a computer screen, then the bear is made for him. Some entity has leaped in ahead of us and taken care of things already, with a kind of solicitude. The effect is to preempt cultivation of embodied agency. Children so preempted will be better adjusted to emerging patterns of work and consumption. It will not strike them that there is anything amiss in the absence of a dipstick in the Mercedes.

Adapted from Matthew B. Crawford's *Shop Class as Soulcraft*, first printed in *The Hedgehog Review* Summer 2010. Former executive director at the George C. Marshall Institute, Crawford resigned in 2001, accusing the think tank of acting as a mouthpiece for Big Oil.



agency vs autonomy II

by Mohsen Mostafavi





Sixteenth-century city engineers in Rome used the same system to provide water both to the walled gardens of the rich and to the drinking fountains on the exterior garden walls for the mass of the people on the outside.

Water can be enjoyed as well as being necessary, after all, as also demonstrated later with the fountains at San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane or those in Piazza Navona.

We can delight in the aesthetics of other necessities besides water, but we first have to be aware of them. There are some contemporary parallels with the Roman example of enjoyment and use of water, such as the formation of pocket parks in the city of New York or a range of major waterfront developments such as those in Baltimore, San Francisco, Monaco, Dubai, Singapore and Sydney. But on the whole we miss out on opportunities to derive enjoyment from necessity. These opportunities are everywhere hidden in plain sight in new ecological practices and in existing maintenance operations. Let's talk about them.

Our approach to the city has become more anesthetized, lacking the sense of wonder and achievement that characterized many urban projects in the past. We still cling to the inheritance of an Enlightenment philosophy that, for example, regarded cemeteries in the midst of the city as unhealthy and unhygienic, something to be banished to the outskirts at the first possible opportunity.

Given the limitations of space, maybe we should do the same today, not just with the bodies of the dead but also with the waste of our own consumption. Who really has a sense of the mountains of garbage that are produced by most cities (unless you happen to have been in Naples during one of the frequent strikes by city workers): out of sight, out of mind. But ... if we don't see the garbage of our culture, both literally and metaphorically, then we are not confronting the reality of what that garbage actually says about us. One can only imagine that in New York City, with its enormous appetite for fast food and takeout, the relation between consumption and waste would produce some frightening statistics. This interrelation can also be seen as an ethico-aesthetic, cultural and environmental project, an opportunity based on viewing the garbage as a measure of who we are, rather than as yet another difficulty, a hindrance to be overcome technically. We must find new ways not only of dealing with the problems of waste management and recycling but also of addressing garbage more forensically, for clues of what we are doing to ourselves.

We have already witnessed an increasing interest in new ways of producing food closer to and within cities. The global transportation and distribution of food is being supplemented by more local growers, whose farmers' markets create temporal events in many cities. But in some places, such as Havana, urban allotments and other forms of productive urban landscapes are being cultivated on a larger scale and in a more commercial manner than ever before. These developments suggest designing such terrains as the continuation of the urban territory – in part as new forms of public space.

Mohsen Mostafavi is Dean at the Harvard School of Design. This is an excerpt from his article *Why Ecological Urbanism? Why Now?* in *Harvard Design Magazine* number 32.



Sebastien Barre



We're only truly secure when we can look out our kitchen window and see our food growing and our friends working nearby.

Bill Mollison, founder of the permaculture movement



agency vs autonomy III

Formerly, we got to know people because we had to ask them for as well as offer them help. Charity was an integral part of premodern life. It was almost inevitable that one would, at some point, have to request money and be asked for some in turn in a world without a health system, unemployment insurance, public housing or consumer banking. To be approached by a sick, frail, confused, homeless or lost person did not immediately inspire one to look the other way and assume that one could pass on the responsibility to a government agency. Theologically, the capacity to respond to the distress of others was held to be central to one's claim to being a true Christian. Saint Thomas Aquinas placed at the center of his list of virtues that of *misericordia*, the capacity to dissolve the barriers between people and feel the pain of others as acutely as if it were one's own.

Alain de Botton, *Harper's* August 2010

Gross market value of worldwide holdings of
over-the-counter derivatives at the end of 2007:

\$15.8 TRILLION

Total at the end of 2009:

\$21.6 TRILLION



A Ghost on the Lower East Side: This part of Manhattan – once a beacon of hope for the world's refugees and cultural exiles – is being gentrified, transformed into a stolid carnival of elitist restaurants and aristocratic leisure. But every day a ghost or two returns ... to haunt the image of progress. Brian Donovan, briandonovanonline.com

1,147

Is the number of former members of Congress, congressional staffers, Treasury Department and other federal employees hired as lobbyists on behalf of the financial services sector since the beginning of 2009. Why do the people of America put up with this level of corruption at the heart of their democracy?

Source: Center for Responsive Politics and Public Citizen



Armando Alvarez, mandoalvarez.com



A working person toiling away on an automobile assembly line or in a restaurant kitchen must have found it difficult to understand how the bankers and brokers who have brought the economy to its knees made so much money simply by selling pieces of paper. When workers make cars, houses or meals, and when farmers produce food, they are producing something that people need and can use. But those who sell complex financial instruments don't produce anything tangible at all. Something doesn't seem right about making money without producing a useful good or service. And indeed, no society can survive if the only economic activity – or even the dominant activity – is lending and borrowing money. The same can be said for buying already-made things at one price and selling them at a higher price. If the only economic activity is merchant trade, everyone will soon die because nothing is being produced. At its most fundamental level, an economy is a system of production of at least some useful outputs. When so much labor is devoted to the buying and selling of pieces of paper, with the sole aim of converting money into money, something profoundly irrational is taking place.

Fred Magdoff and Michael D. Yates, *The ABCs of the Economic Crisis*

What happened to dreams?
We just live out of habit.
I can never sleep...
I only stare at the dream catcher
hanging from my ceiling



Gil Inoue

— Denise Mush

THE ADVENTURE OF A DIFFERENT LIFE

According to all the information we possess, it is all too likely that we must reckon with a worldwide collapse of the ecosystem during the lifetime of the middle and younger generation, not even waiting for the youngest generation to reach maturity. In our country – beginning probably on the coasts and rivers – the collapse will be especially dramatic.

The resulting attempt by people to save their own situation will lead to a frightful struggle of all against all. Perhaps we could call in our military to keep order for a time and especially to secure supplies from outside. But the latter is by no means certain, because weapons are spreading rapidly. In twenty years there will be far more nuclear-armed countries than there are today ... and nuclear terrorism. And we know how vulnerable our complex infrastructures are.

If we want to avoid this, we must face the danger now while we still have a braking distance that might just be sufficient. Admittedly nobody can say what exactly is the degree of irreversible damage that can never more be made good, although certainly no exterminated species can be resurrected. But let us agree on a plan to prevent the ultimate overloading and resulting collapse of the biosphere and the atmosphere. We can do this if we put our heads together and rein in our egoism.

But we must begin with ourselves. There are too many Germans in Germany, too many Americans in America, and so on. Our territory cannot support our daily average use of energy: 150 to 160 kilowatt-hours per person.

Let us then at least accept a reduction in the number of births; naturally population movements caused by the metropolitan industrial system also must stop, for they only cause problems and solve none.

And then lowering the basic load affects our material basic needs for food, clothing, housing, education and health, and also the need for (military) security, for mobility and communication, and for pleasure and development. As a consequence of big organizations, big technology, transport systems determined by world

markets and a security-fixated psychology, we satisfy these needs at the cost of a disproportionately high expenditure.

We "solve" the problems resulting from this – not least of all that of protecting the environment – by making ever new inroads into the nonrenewable resources of the planet. But since this process is structurally determined – that is, given the pattern of civilization it is insoluble – we must make basic changes in the structure itself.

This becomes especially clear when we look at the things we must abolish – because without far-reaching structural changes there would still remain a miserable torso of the industrial megamachine, from which would come nothing but frustration.


What, then, must clearly disappear? Obviously nuclear energy production. But we must also give up the private automobile, largely abandon truck and special vehicle traffic, and close most airports. Naturally the wheels of the military must also stop turning. We must cut back the number of cars and the volume of chemicals we produce, and we must abolish the arms industry completely.

Where are we to turn if industrial jobs are to be abolished in this way and we have to make do mainly with the mineral, agricultural and atmospheric resources that we can still find in our own land? We then must remind ourselves that human beings were not always cut off from the nourishing Earth and the tools of their work – cut off not only by distance but also by property relations.

In spite of the density of its settlement, the land in our country is still sufficient for us to meet our own needs by organic farming and gardening, especially if we cut back on eating meat. We could feed ourselves by the work of our own hands.

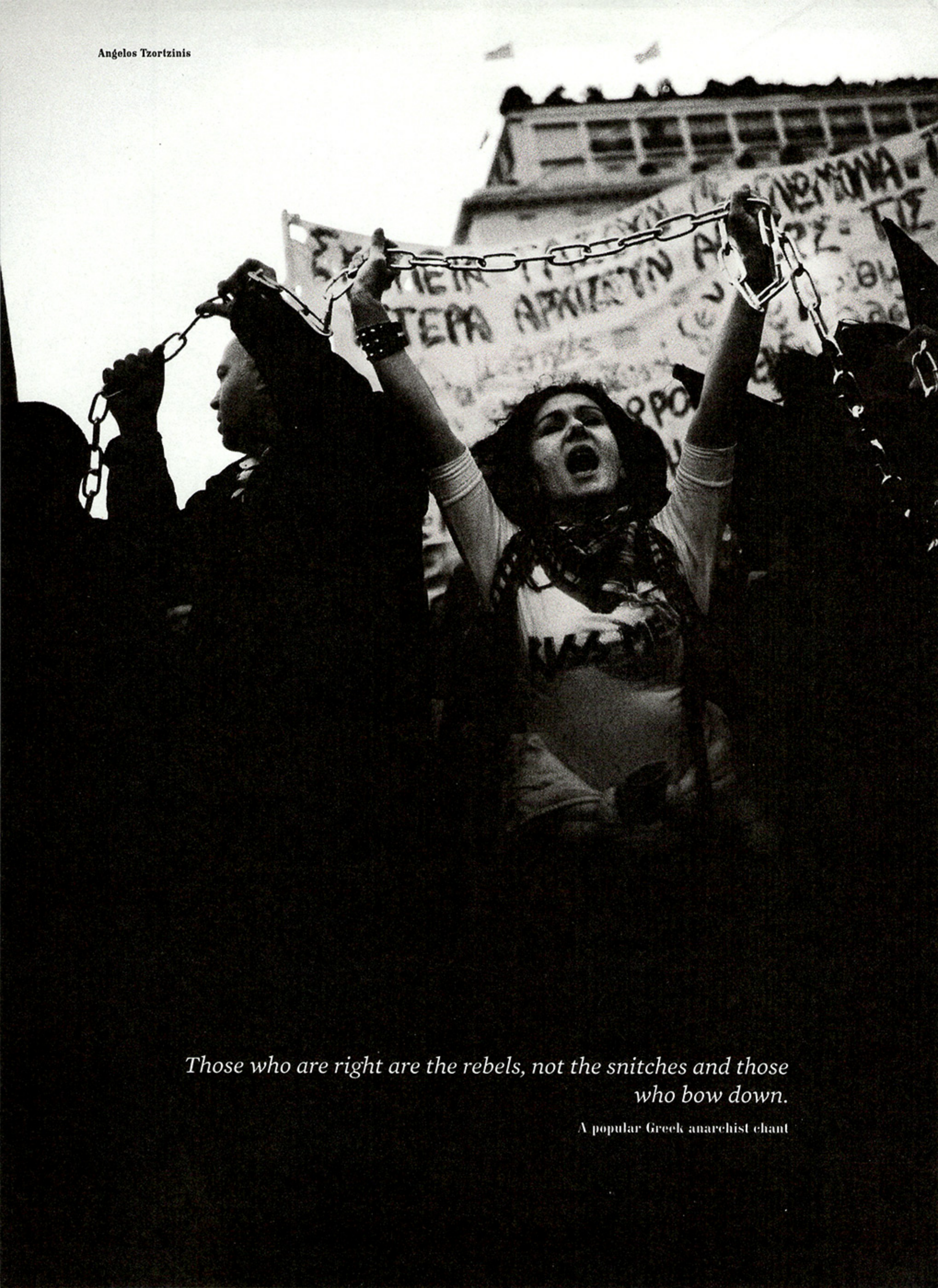
For tools, containers, storage and dwellings, small industry is easily sufficient, provided we limit the production of basic provisions to the immediate neighborhood – say within a radius of 25 to 30 kilometers. If we concentrate our intelligence on a convivial small-is-beautiful technology, the result could be a highly productive system of tools requiring not more than four hours per day of actual work per person.

Everything depends on readiness for a form of existence organized locally around the commune and the living community. The division of work would essentially be built up anew from there. In the center of things, however, would stand not work, but life, the interpersonal traffic of a high, love-filled culture, where the values of being stand above the values of having. So the immediate thing to do is to become familiar with developing communities: Start looking around for other people, families and groups to maybe share with them the adventure of a different life.



Rudolf Bahro from *Avoiding Social and Ecological Disaster: The Politics of World Transformation*. Bahro rejected Communism when the East German government refused to denounce the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.





*Those who are right are the rebels, not the snitches and those
who bow down.*

A popular Greek anarchist chant

////////////////////
WHAT DOES IT MEAN
TO BE HUMAN?

////////WHAT MATTERS////////
IN A LIFE?

////////WHAT MATTERS////////
IN A DEATH?
HOW TO LOVE?

HOW CAN WE BE OF SERVICE TO
ONE ANOTHER
AND THE WORLD?





Incessant technical renewal

Integrated spectacle

generalized secrecy



unanswerable lies

an eternal present

Guy Debord

THE ADVERTISER'S CENTURY



A
Summer Day
and a

CADILLAC

Model A Tourer, - \$510
Without Tourer, \$710
Model B Touring Car, \$900
Without Tourer, \$500

For a delightful spin in the country; for business or pleasure; for quick and pleasant travel over long distances or short; there's nothing equals a reliable automobile.
No reliable automobile is so easy to buy, to operate, or to maintain as a Cadillac.
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Model A Tourer (shown above) will carry four people safely, smoothly and comfortably at 30 miles per hour on the level stretches, and will go up a 20% grade.
Model B Touring car is identical in accomplishment, but has larger wheels, longer wheel-base, more roomy body. Both models are equipped with Goodyear Black detachable tires.
Full appreciation of Cadillac superiority in design, construction and performance is possible only by personal inspection and trial.

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We'll be glad to send you Booklet C for the asking. It explains and illustrates all Cadillac models in detail, and gives address of Agency nearest you where they may be seen and tried.

Please mail to the Editor of Review when sending for advertisement.

**From its modest beginnings,
advertising has grown into a one
trillion dollar a year worldwide
industry and the single biggest
psychological experiment ever
carried out on the human race.**



These new beauties are Organ and Piano with the best of both worlds. They are the most perfect instruments ever made. They are the most perfect instruments ever made. They are the most perfect instruments ever made.

The Following is a Brief Description of each instrument:

- 1. There are 12 in all.
- 2. They are the most perfect instruments ever made.
- 3. They are the most perfect instruments ever made.
- 4. They are the most perfect instruments ever made.
- 5. They are the most perfect instruments ever made.
- 6. They are the most perfect instruments ever made.
- 7. They are the most perfect instruments ever made.
- 8. They are the most perfect instruments ever made.
- 9. They are the most perfect instruments ever made.
- 10. They are the most perfect instruments ever made.
- 11. They are the most perfect instruments ever made.
- 12. They are the most perfect instruments ever made.

It contains 37 STOPS, as follows:

- 1. Flute
- 2. Clarinet
- 3. Bassoon
- 4. Trumpet
- 5. Trombone
- 6. Saxophone
- 7. Violin
- 8. Viola
- 9. Cello
- 10. Double Bass
- 11. Piano
- 12. Organ
- 13. Harp
- 14. Lute
- 15. Mandolin
- 16. Guitar
- 17. Banjo
- 18. Drums
- 19. Cymbals
- 20. Gong
- 21. Bells
- 22. Chimes
- 23. Triangle
- 24. Castanets
- 25. Maracas
- 26. Tambourine
- 27. Zither
- 28. Autoharp
- 29. Harmonium
- 30. Accordion
- 31. Concertina
- 32. Bandoneon
- 33. Saxophone
- 34. Clarinet
- 35. Bassoon
- 36. Trumpet
- 37. Trombone

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Each instrument is guaranteed for 10 years.

For more information, please write to the nearest branch office.

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 Sole Agents for the United States and Canada.
 Special Limited Price of this Organ is

Only \$75.00
 bench, back & stool.

Dense with type, crowded with facts.



The New 88 Note
ANGELUS PLAYER-PIANO

If you have ever spent the evening in the company of some well-skilled, versatile pianist you have experienced in part only the numberless delights which every evening await the owner of an *Angelus Player-Piano*. Many music lovers on first hearing the *Angelus Player-Piano* have expressed their absolute amazement that the music which it enables the player to produce is so much more artistic, so superior in every way to that which any other player-piano makes possible. This for one reason is because the *Angelus Player-Piano* only is equipped with

THE MELODANT

that wonderful device which picks out and emphasizes the melody notes in such splendid contrast to those of the accompaniment. Using the *Melodant* rolls the *Angelus* player is enabled to bring out all the delicate beauties of the melody which, with the ordinary player-piano are usually lost in the mass of ornamentation which surrounds it. The *Melodant*, like the *Flaming Lines*, the *Double-Range Pianissimo* and the *Artistic Music Roll*, is a patented exclusive feature of the *Angelus*.

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There has been but one supreme piano in the history of music. In the days of Liszt and Wagner, of Rubinstein and Berlioz, the pre-eminence of the Steinway was as unquestioned as it is today. It stood then, as it stands now, the chosen instrument of the masters—the inevitable preference wherever great music is understood and esteemed.

Striking the emotional chord.

Only 40 years separate these three ads, but the difference is striking. Advertising moved from simple factual announcements into status symbolism and the stimulation of desires. The Steinway ad is already modern. It strikes an emotional chord and coins an unforgettable slogan.

Joy of Living

57

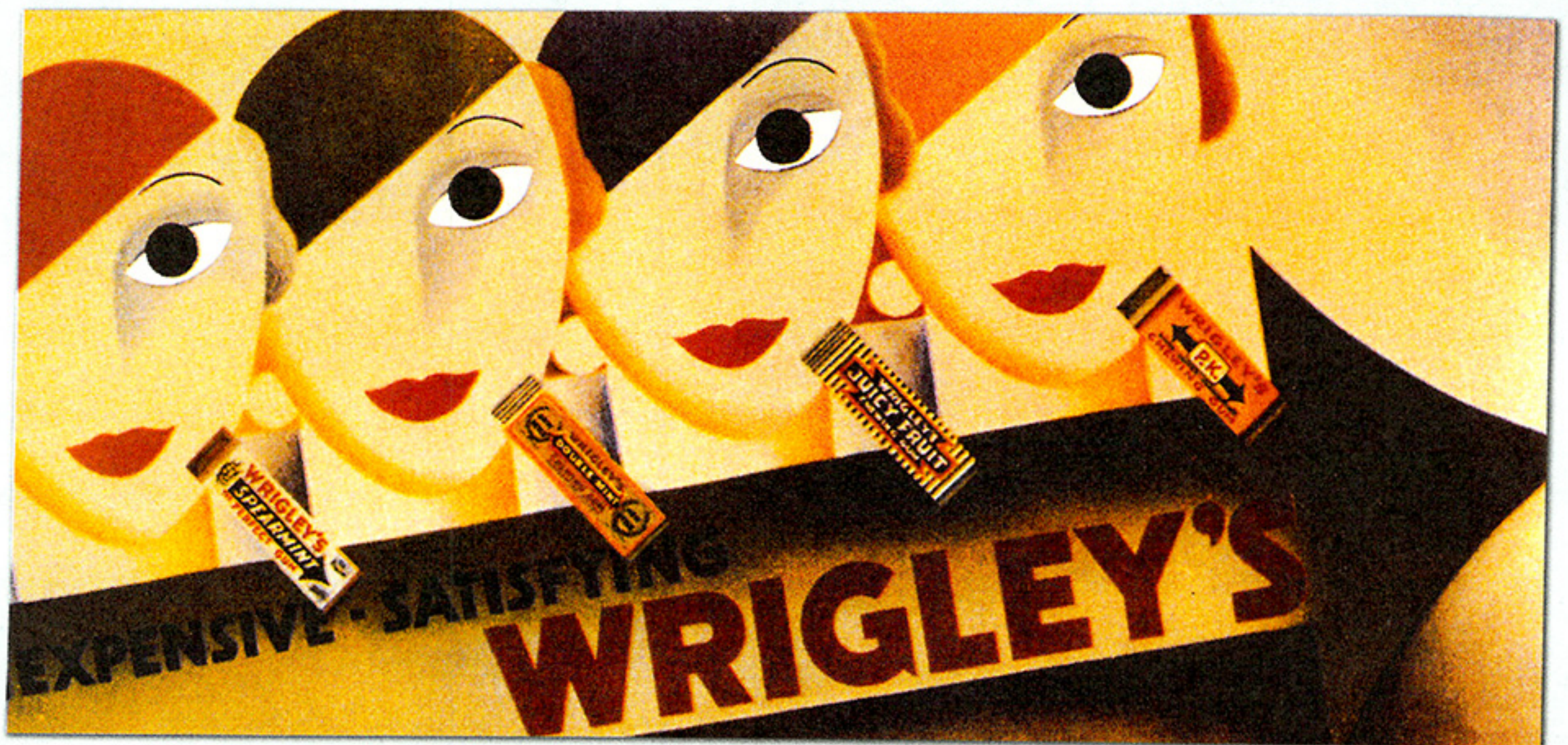
3^D
AND
5^D



HEINZ BAKED BEANS



1943



1934

1926

*"Blow some
my way"*

Chesterfield



1936

OURS...to fight for



FREEDOM FROM WANT



1942

1944



In the Vanguard of Invasion

In every theater of war, wherever American forces are hitting the enemy—by land, by sea or in the air—Cadillac products are usually in the vanguard of invasion.

Such famous fighter planes as the Airacobra, the Lightning, the P-40 and the Mustang—powered by Allison, America's foremost liquid-cooled aircraft engine—all carry Cadillac-built parts. For Cadillac builds many parts for Allison.

Four Times Awarded — GENERAL MOTORS SUPPLY OF THE YEAR — NBC NEWS

CADILLAC MOTOR CAR DIVISION



GENERAL MOTORS CORPORATION



than forty years. Thus, all the skills we have acquired throughout this long period of peacetime activity are now being devoted to one single end . . . that the finest soldiers in the world shall not lack for anything that it is within our power to produce.



LET'S ALL
BACK THE ATTACK
BUY WAR BONDS

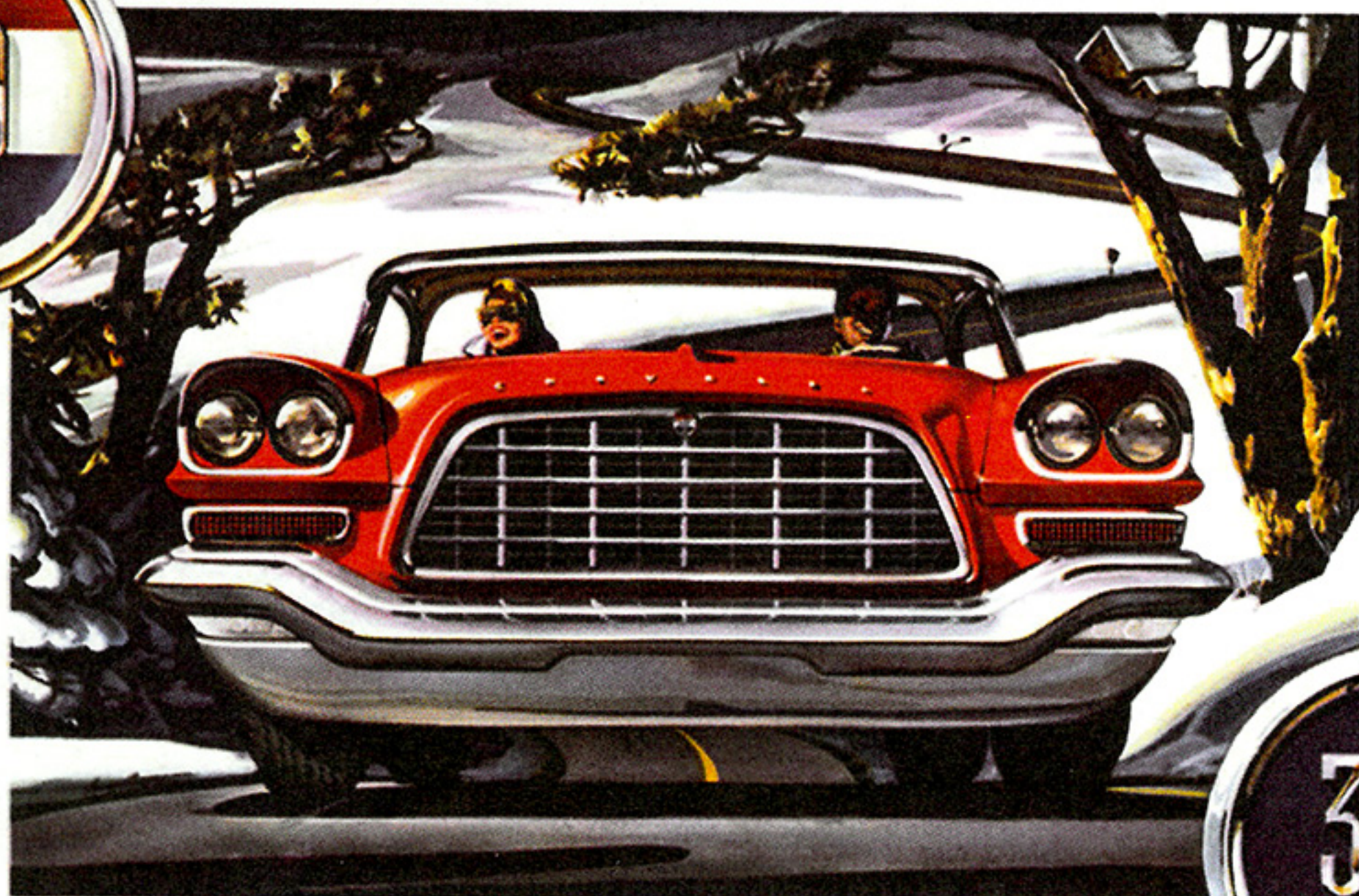


1946

1958



THE CHRYSLER 300 C



AMERICA'S GREATEST PERFORMING CAR

1957

You've come a
long way, baby.

Virginia Slims.



Regular & Lights: 10 mg "tar",
1.1 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Nov/70

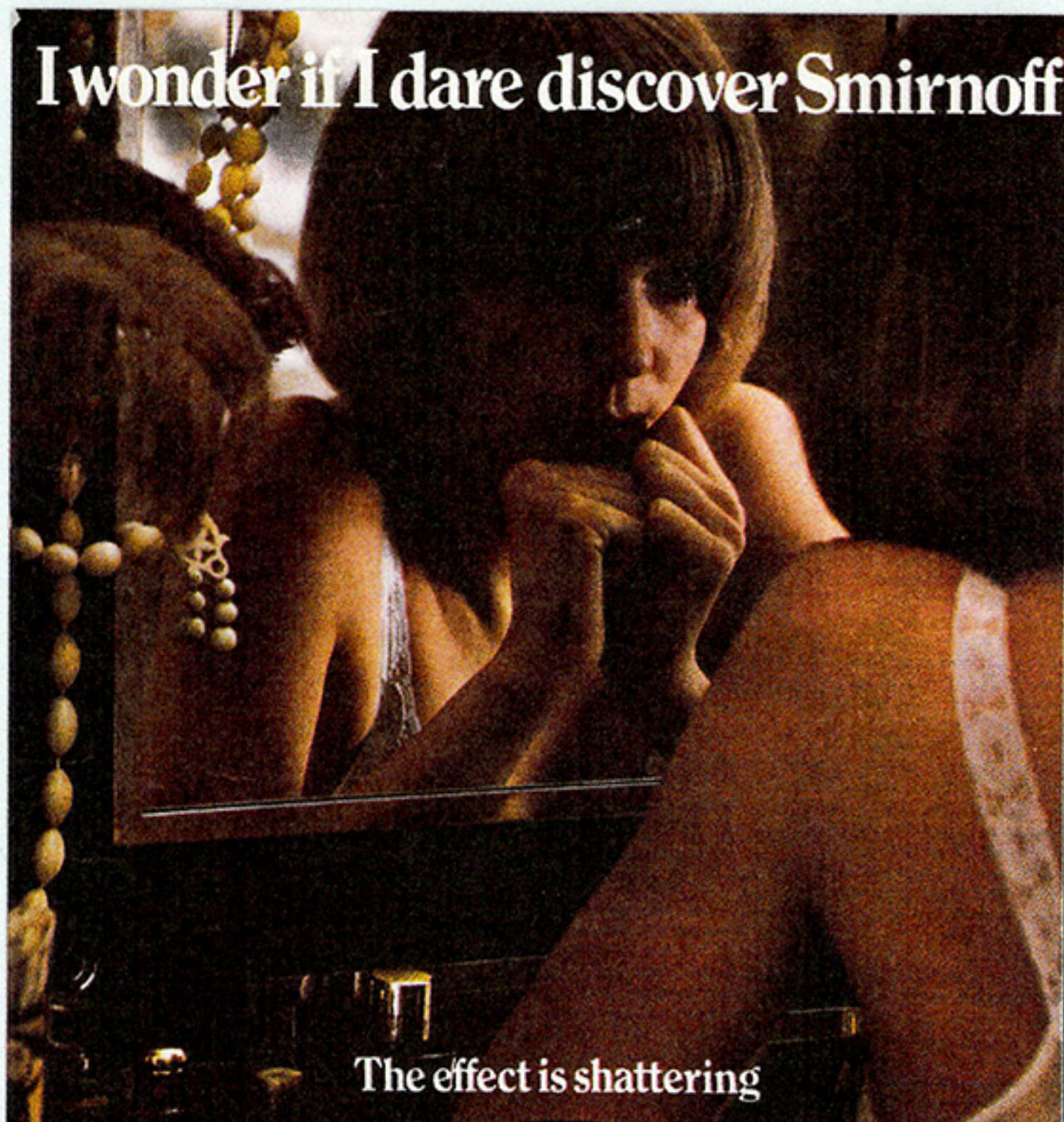
1970

If it wasn't for cigarettes,
I wouldn't have cancer.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

1976

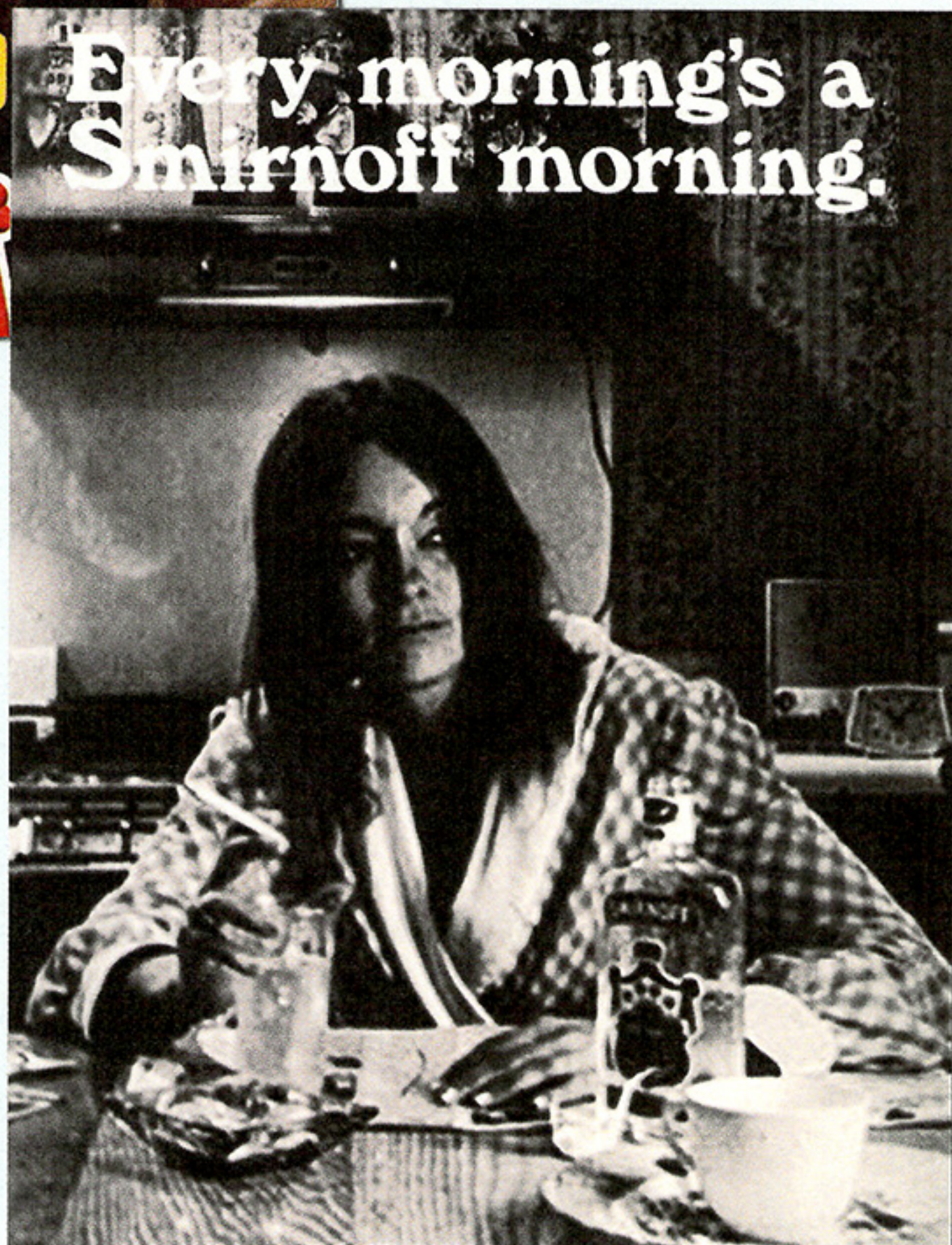
I wonder if I dare discover Smirnoff



The effect is shattering



Every morning's a
Smirnoff morning.



1975

1976

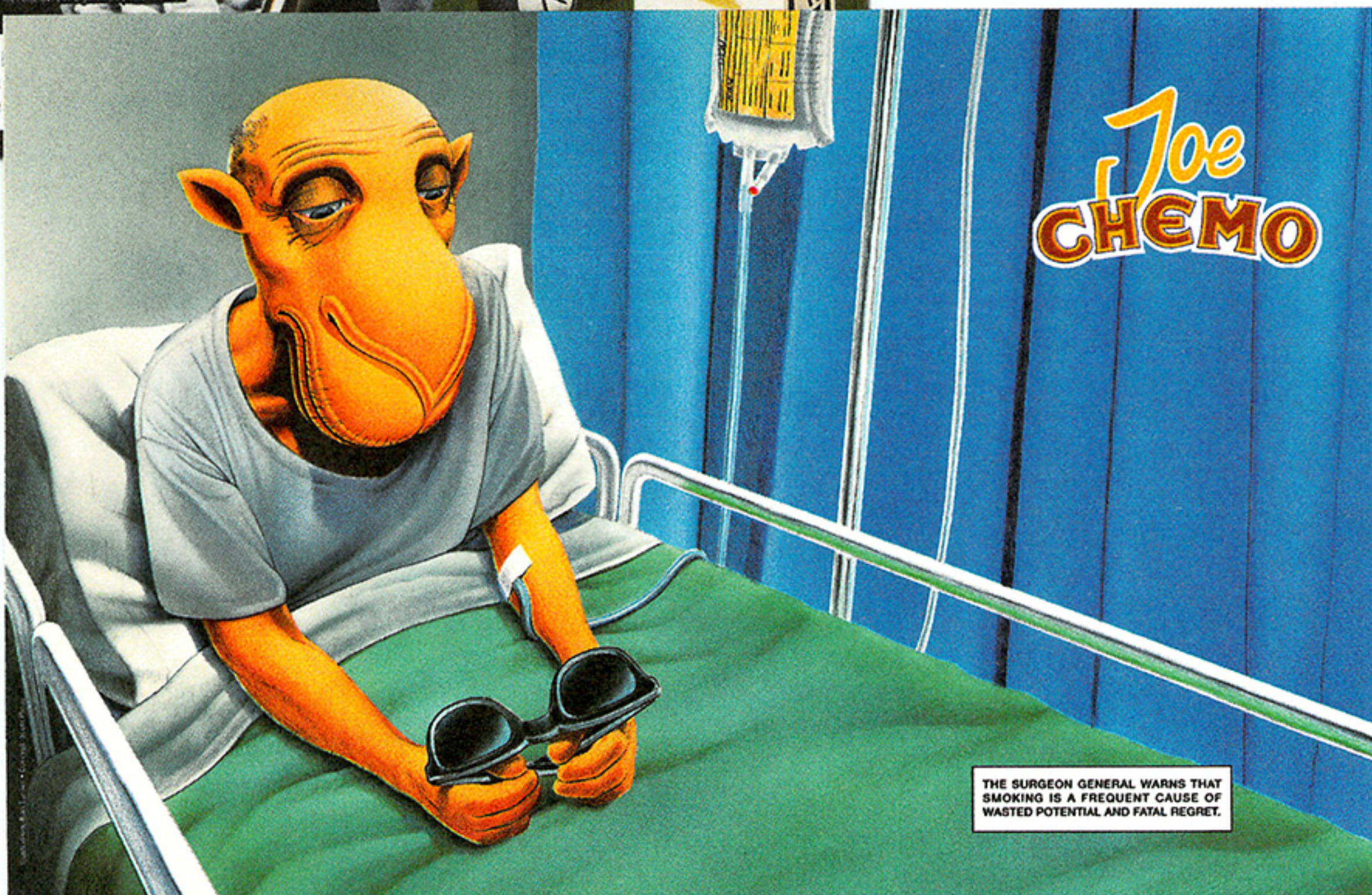
Smooth character.



10 mg. "tar", 0.8 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.

SURGEON
Causes
Emphyse

1989



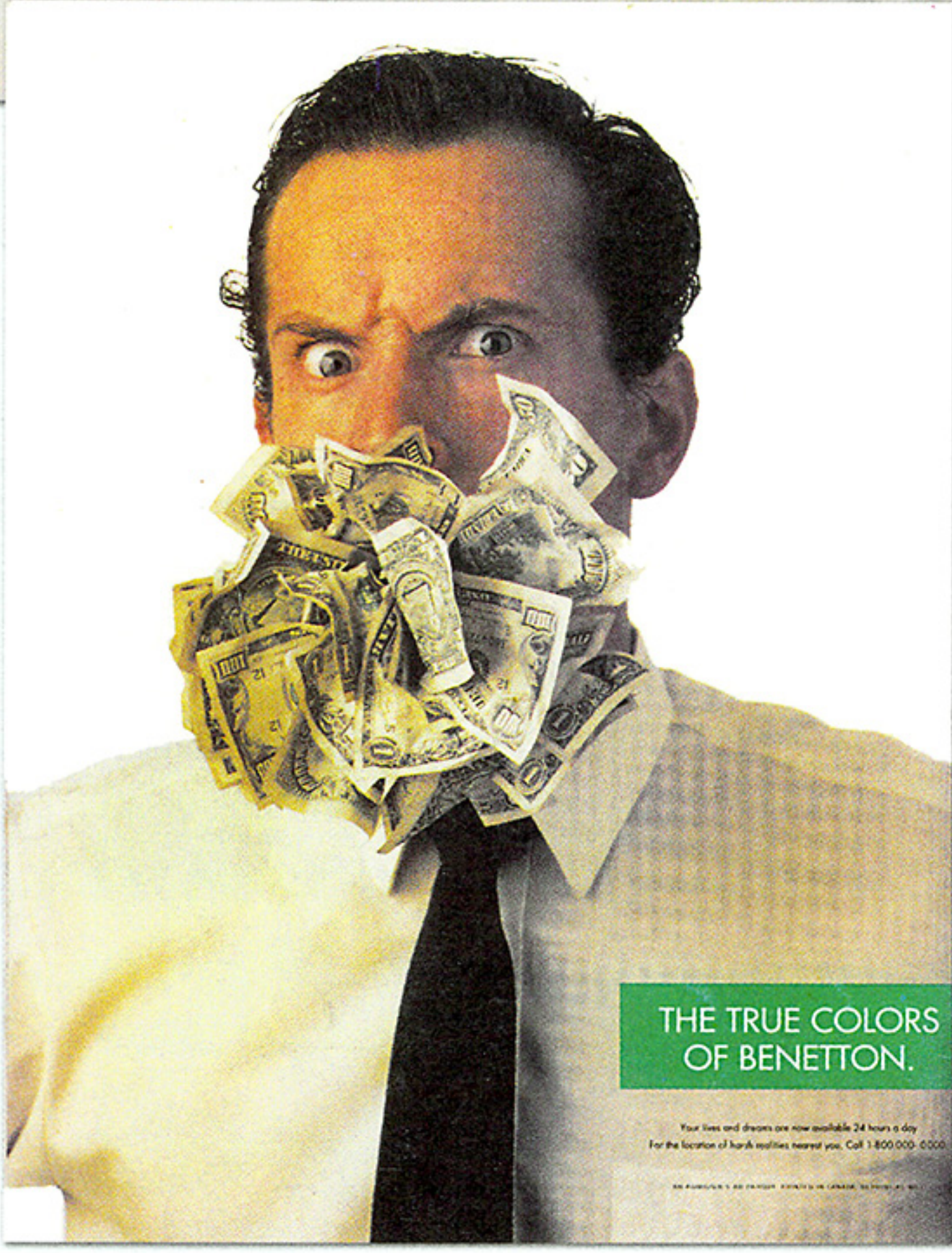
THE SURGEON GENERAL WARNS THAT
SMOKING IS A FREQUENT CAUSE OF
WASTED POTENTIAL AND FATAL REGRET.

1996



UNITED COLORS
OF BENETTON.

1992



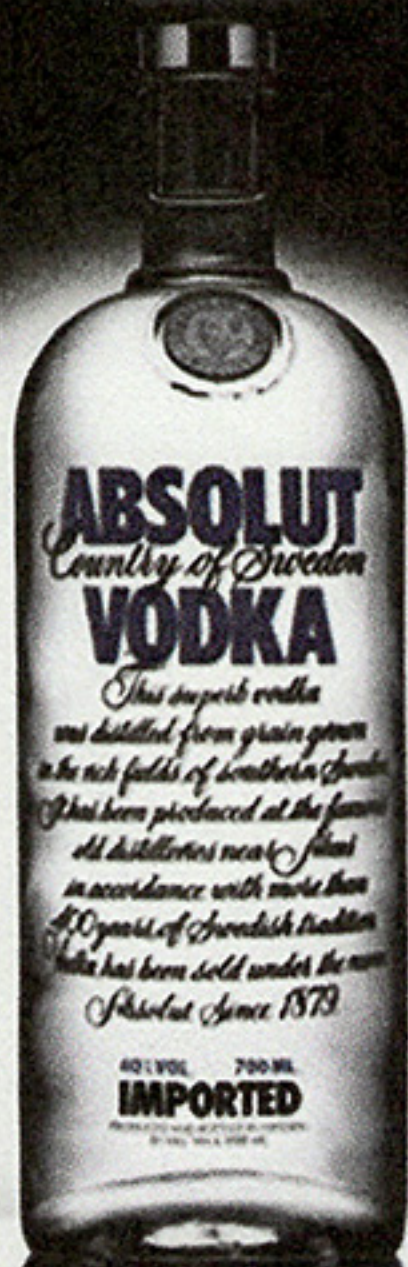
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OF BENETTON.

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For the location of Benetton outlets nearest you, Call 1-800-000-0000.

Benetton Group S.p.A. - Via dell'Industria, 1 - 35100 Padova, Italy

1993





ABSOLUT PERFECTION.

1980

1995



ABSOLUT IMPOTENCE.

DRINK "PROVOKES THE DESIRE BUT TAKES AWAY THE PERFORMANCE" — WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE



Calvin K

Feed

Me

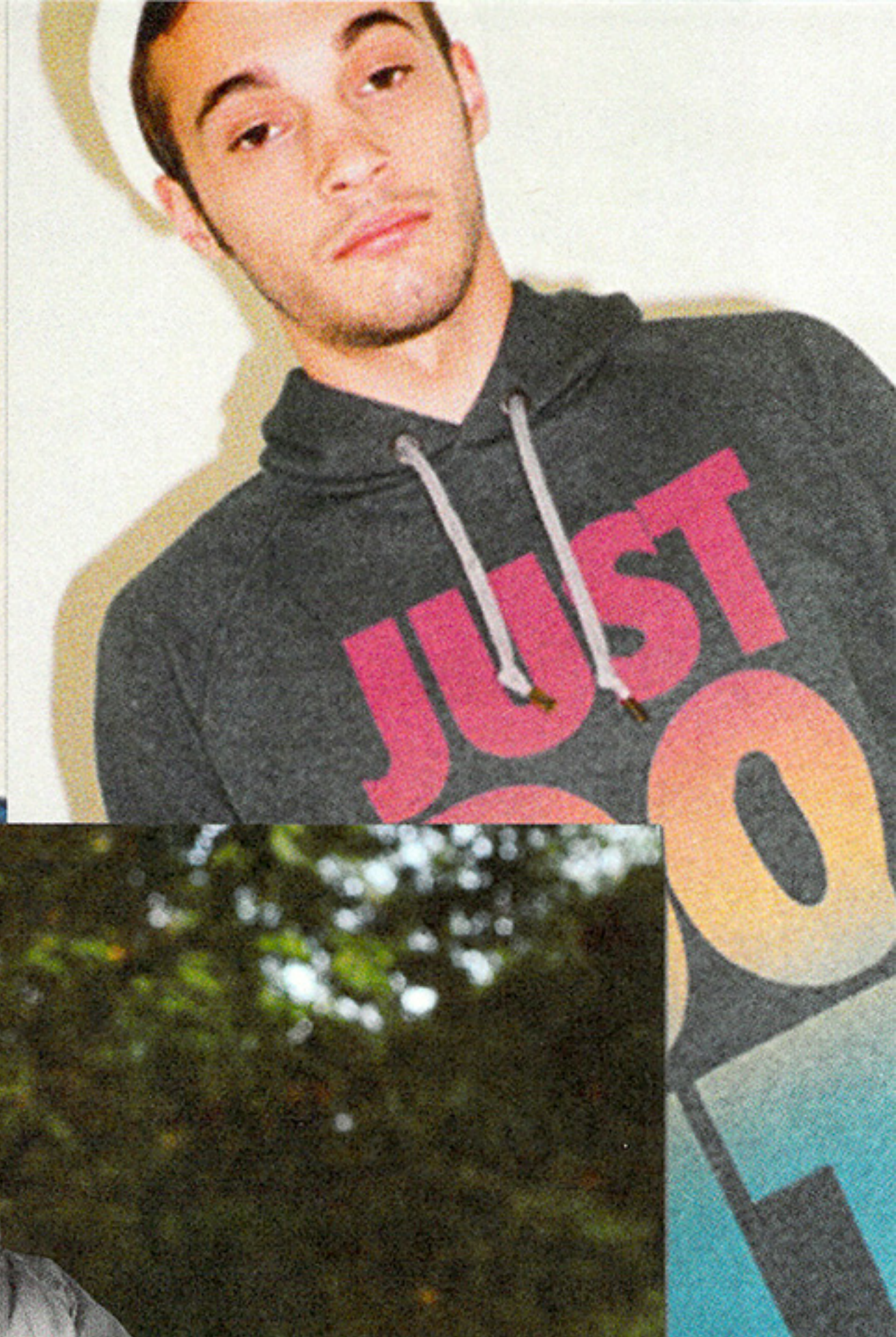




2006



2008



2008



2008

-DETOURNEMENT-

GO FORTH



AND CONSERVE

Levi's

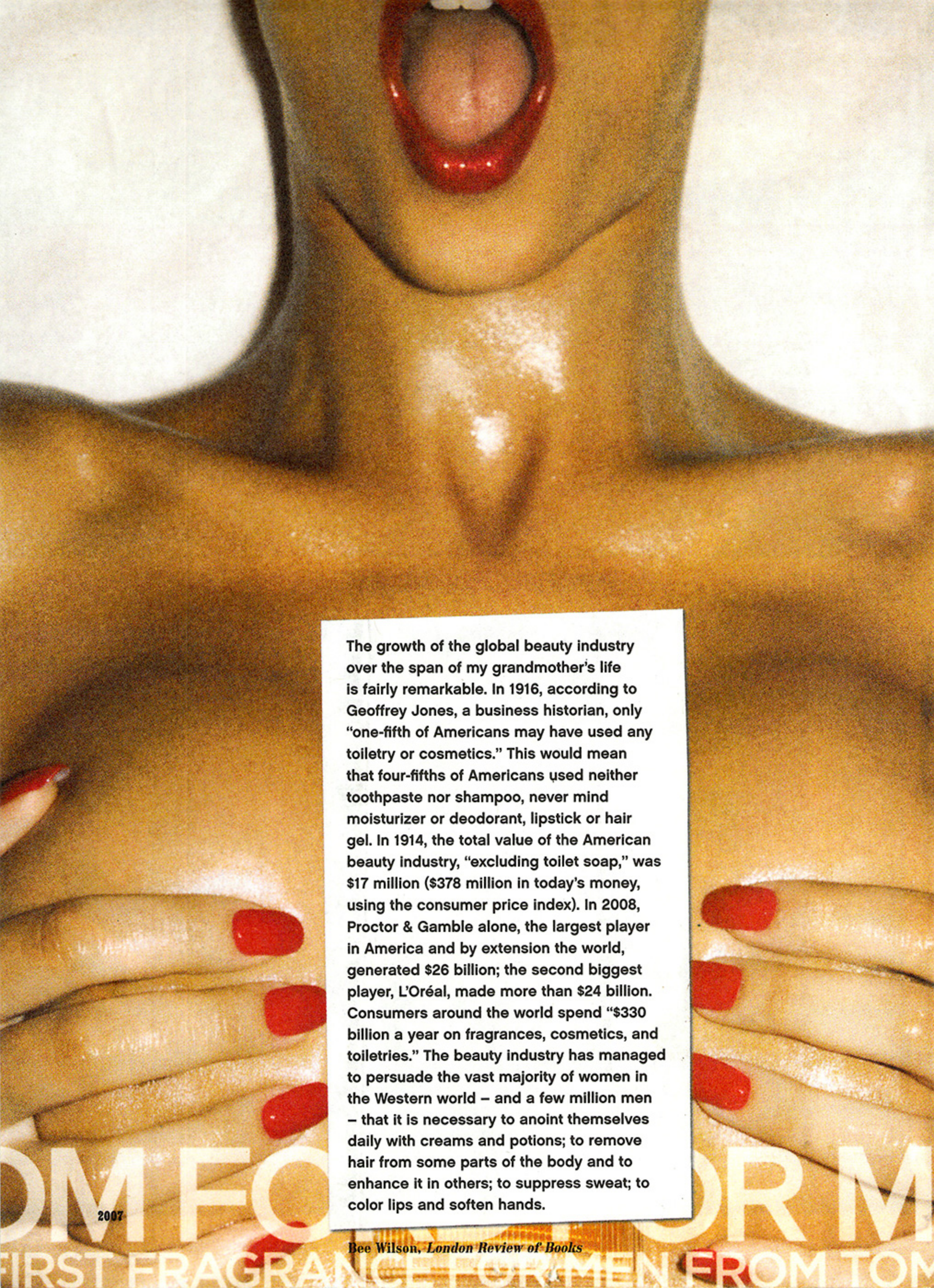


Open your mouth
and shut your eyes

Kellogg's

1933

TOASTED CORN FLAKES



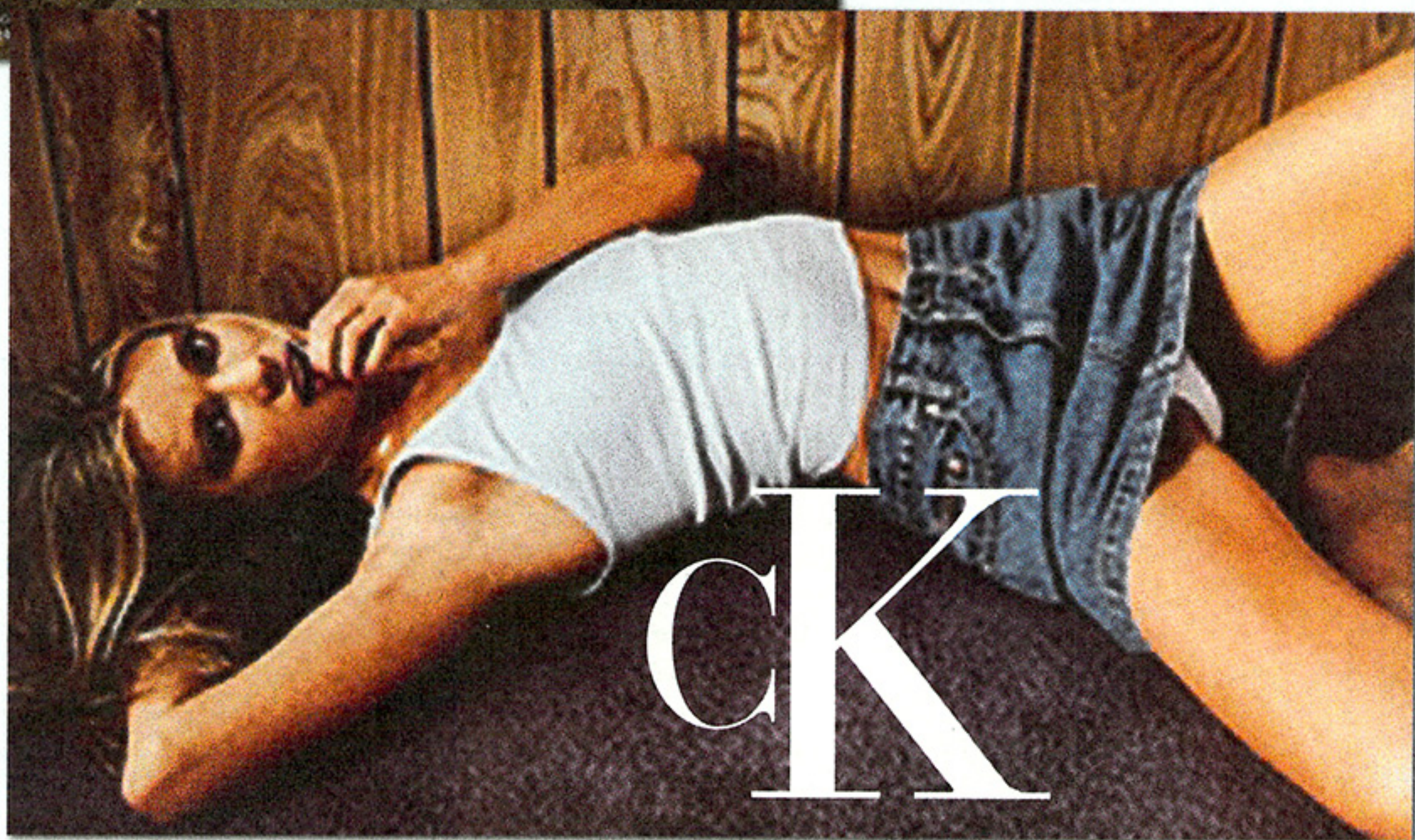
The growth of the global beauty industry over the span of my grandmother's life is fairly remarkable. In 1916, according to Geoffrey Jones, a business historian, only "one-fifth of Americans may have used any toiletry or cosmetics." This would mean that four-fifths of Americans used neither toothpaste nor shampoo, never mind moisturizer or deodorant, lipstick or hair gel. In 1914, the total value of the American beauty industry, "excluding toilet soap," was \$17 million (\$378 million in today's money, using the consumer price index). In 2008, Procter & Gamble alone, the largest player in America and by extension the world, generated \$26 billion; the second biggest player, L'Oréal, made more than \$24 billion. Consumers around the world spend "\$330 billion a year on fragrances, cosmetics, and toiletries." The beauty industry has managed to persuade the vast majority of women in the Western world – and a few million men – that it is necessary to anoint themselves daily with creams and potions; to remove hair from some parts of the body and to enhance it in others; to suppress sweat; to color lips and soften hands.



DOLCE &

GABBANA

2006



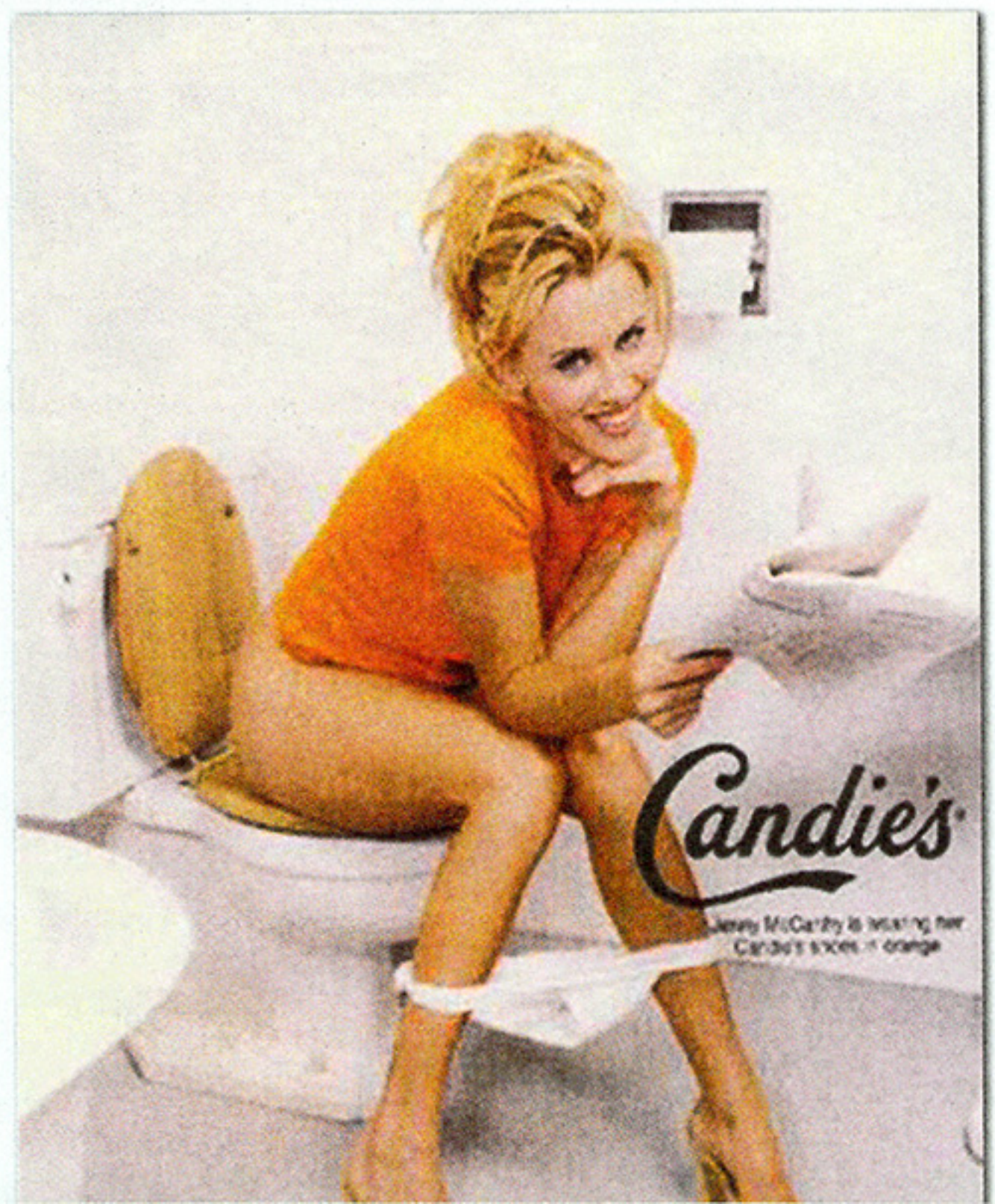
1995

**GOODBYE
INHIBITIONS.**

BESTUPID DIESEL

2010

**At the tail end of the
advertiser's
century we
are finally
beginning to
understand
what it all
means...**



2011 ~





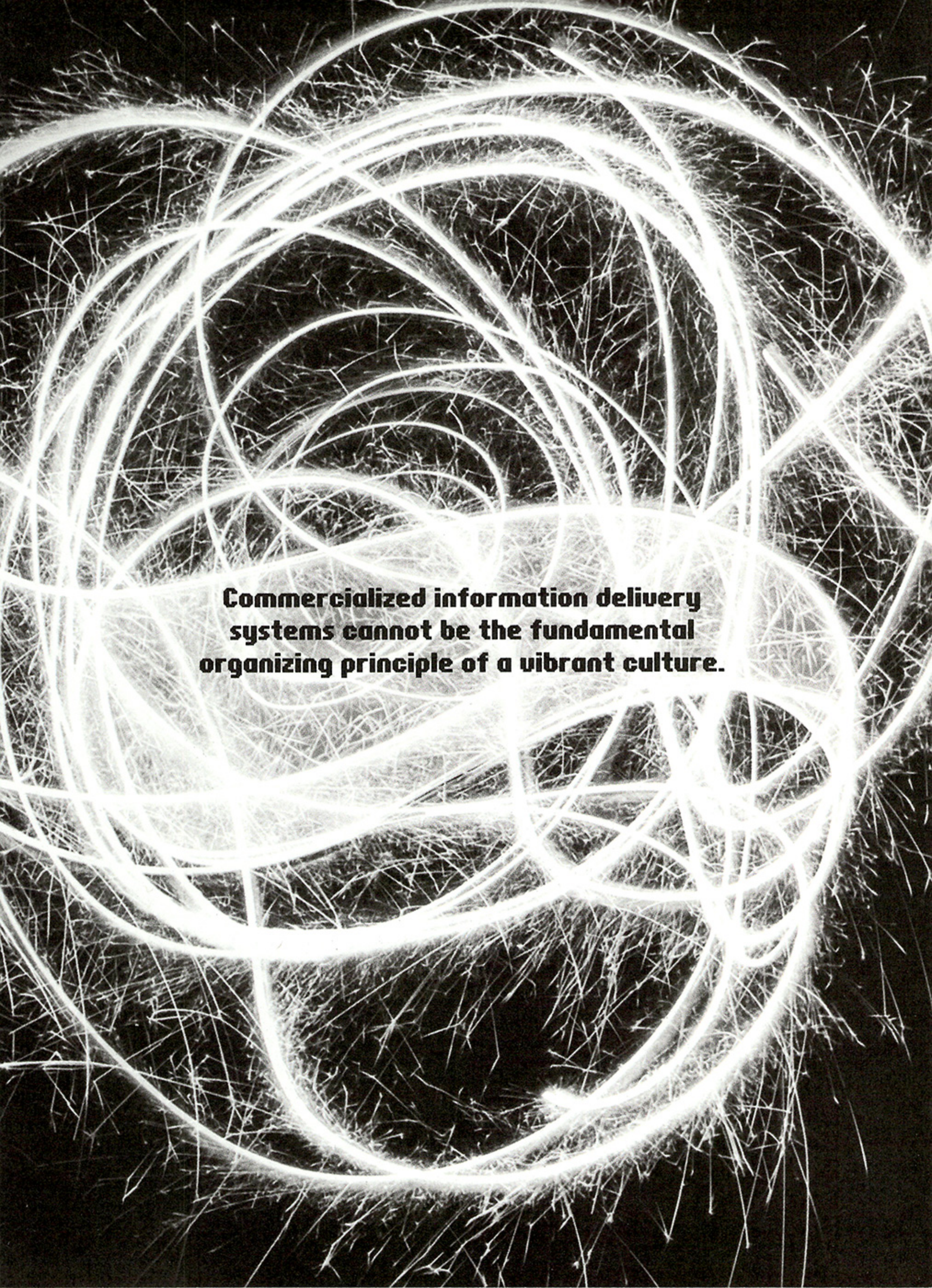
3000 marketing messages a day seeping into your brain whether you like it or not.

Mixing communication with commercialism

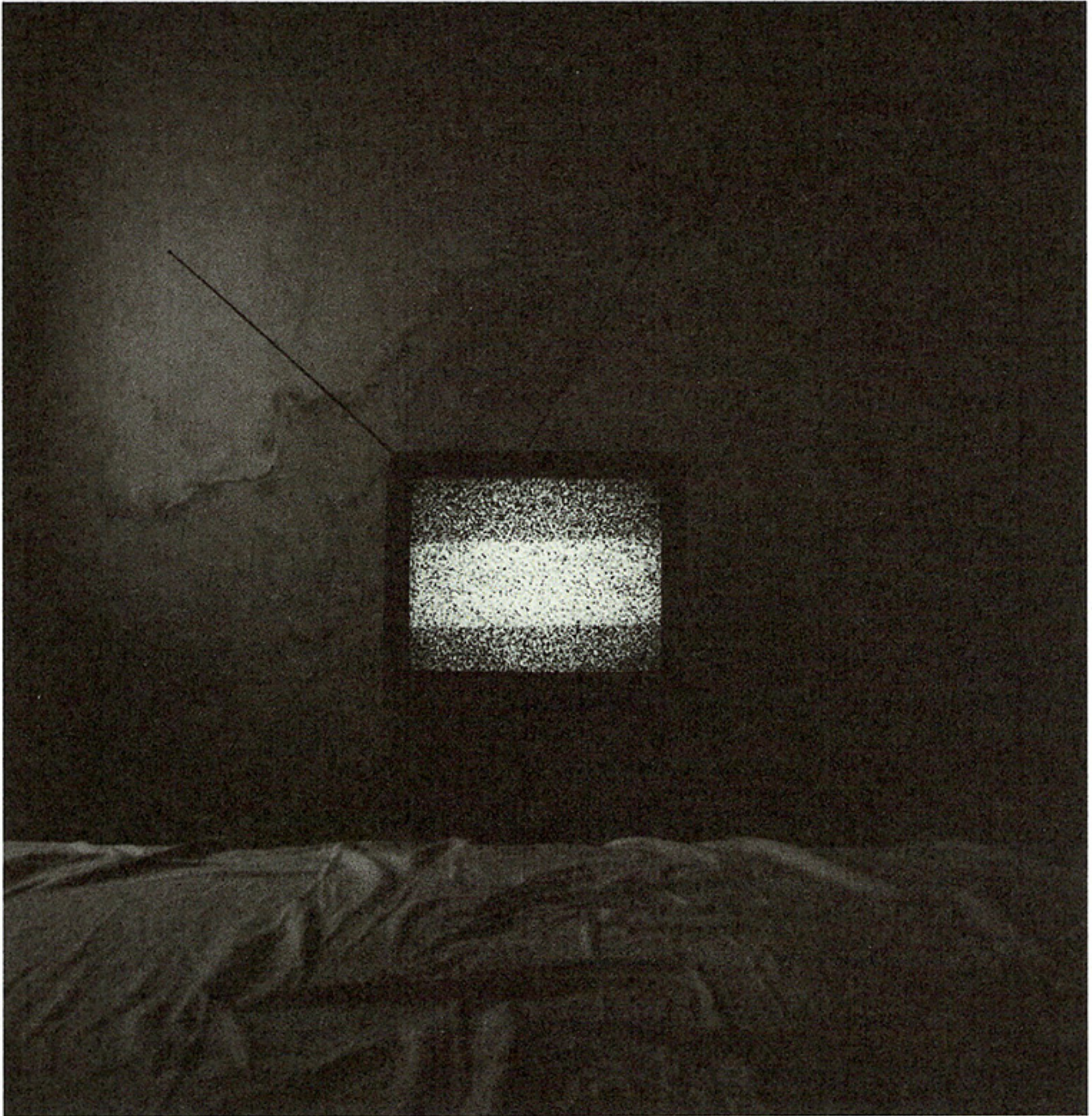


Till Gerhard, *Totale Erleuchtung*, 2003

was a terrible mistake



**Commercialized information delivery
systems cannot be the fundamental
organizing principle of a vibrant culture.**



Stanislav Markov

***Shocker: Empathy Drops 40%
In College Students Since 2000***

Depression is the guardrail of the person with no road map.



Stephanie Roberts

In the 16th century, melancholia was the elective illness of the exceptional man, of he who had nothing above him. During the Romantic period, it stood at the crossroads of creative genius and madness. Today, it is the situation of every individual in Western society.

Depression is a pathology of time (the depressed person has no future) and a pathology of motivation (the depressed person has no energy, his movement is slowed, his words slurred). The depressed person has trouble forming projects; he or she lacks energy and the minimum motivation to carry them out. Inhibited, impulsive or compulsive, she has trouble communicating with herself and others. With no project, motivation or communication, the depressed person stands in exact opposition to our social norms.

Depression and addiction are names given to the uncontrollable, which we encounter when we stop talking about winning our freedom and start working on becoming ourselves and taking the initiative for action. They remind us that the unknown is part of every person – and that it always has been. It can change but never disappear: that is why we never leave the human realm. That is depression's lesson.

Alain Ehrenberg, from *The Weariness of the Self*

An Increase in the General Loading



Michael Krebber, *Respekt Frischlinge*

Adbusters editor Kalle Lasn interviews
Ethan Watters, author of *Crazy Like Us:
The Globalization of the American Psyche*.


KL: There seems to be a massive increase in
anxieties, mood disorders and depression. Are we
in the middle of an epidemic of mental illness?

EW: Absolutely.

KL: So what is the root cause of this epidemic?

EW: If I had to put my money on one idea then it
would be the American notion of the egocentric
mind – the idea that you are the captain of your
own destiny and that you should be able to chart
your own path and find your own happiness and
control your own destiny fundamentally without
the need for others. I think that this idea in the
West – and in America in particular – has led to a
great deal of insecurity and a general loading of our
psychopathology. I think that the human animal is

of Psychopathology



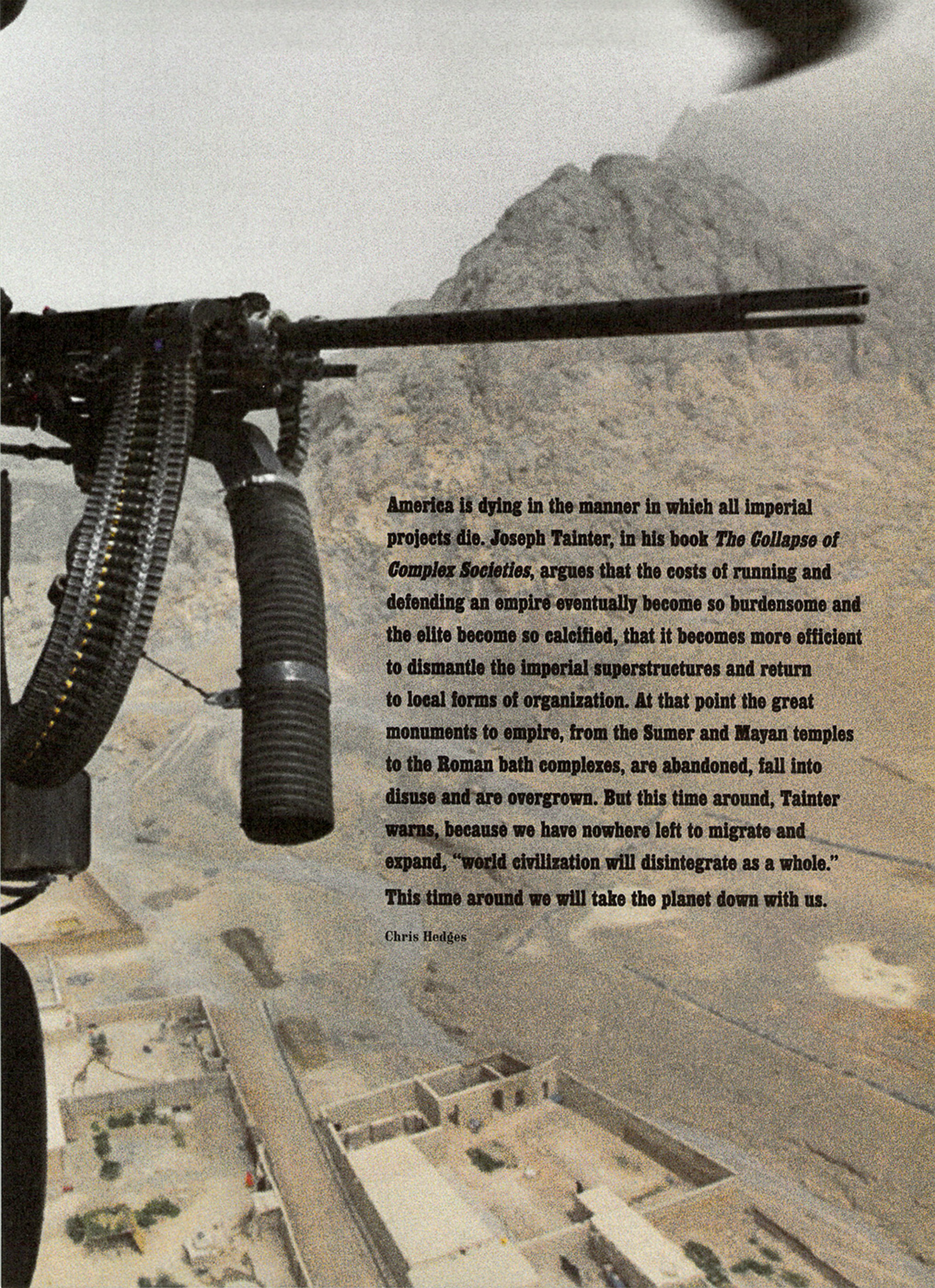
much more of a group animal than the American idea of the mind suggests it to be.

And of course the ever expanding mental health profession is willing to take that insecurity in our lives and give it any number of different labels. It was anxiety in the 1960s and '70s, in the '80s and '90s it was depression, and who knows what it's going to be in the next generation. I do think that especially for women, the quickly changing roles have caused a lot of stress. Modernization, breakdowns of kinship and community ties have all led to an increase in the general loading of our psychopathology.

KL: So, in a sense you are saying that instead of pills we need more connection.

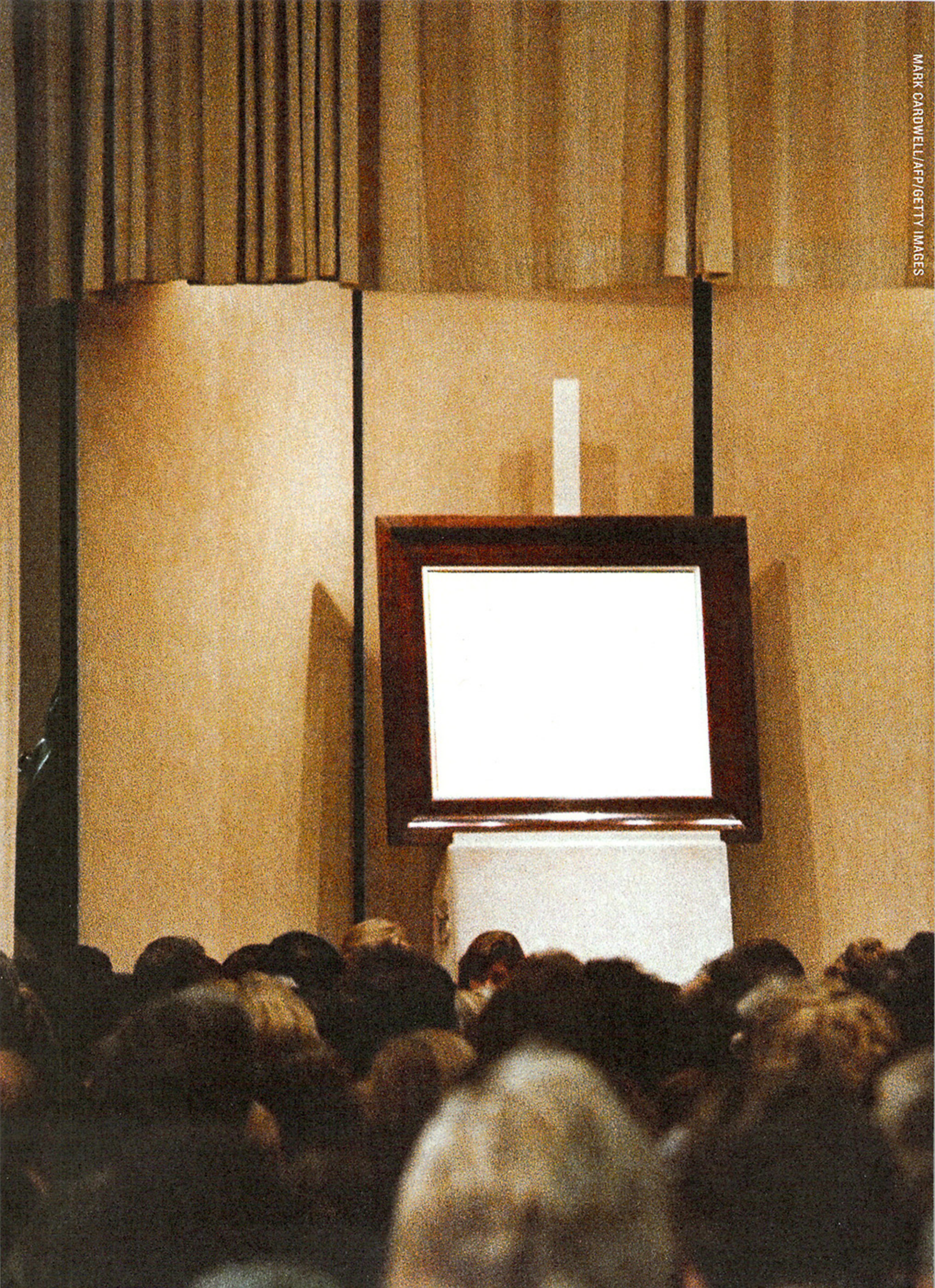
EW: Yes. Absolutely. I think that human beings cannot feel at ease mentally if they are disconnected from their sense of a role within a group. I think that the human mind is deeply permeable to the goals and expectations of the people around us, and if we don't pay attention to that, if we think of ourselves as the captains of our own destiny, always able to pick ourselves up by our own individual bootstraps, then we are likely to experience that sort of postmodern insecurity that leads us to a certain form of American hyper-introspection – always looking inward.





America is dying in the manner in which all imperial projects die. Joseph Tainter, in his book *The Collapse of Complex Societies*, argues that the costs of running and defending an empire eventually become so burdensome and the elite become so calcified, that it becomes more efficient to dismantle the imperial superstructures and return to local forms of organization. At that point the great monuments to empire, from the Sumer and Mayan temples to the Roman bath complexes, are abandoned, fall into disuse and are overgrown. But this time around, Tainter warns, because we have nowhere left to migrate and expand, "world civilization will disintegrate as a whole." This time around we will take the planet down with us.

Chris Hedges





Capitalist Haiku:

A rotten egg
some rancid butter
an unexpected moment of truth

The background is a dark, textured surface, possibly black or very dark grey. It is adorned with several bright red, glowing elements. In the upper right corner, there are two large, out-of-focus circular bokeh lights. A horizontal band of red light stretches across the upper middle section. In the lower left, a thin, wavy red line curves upwards. Another red line, more prominent, curves from the bottom left towards the right, passing behind the text. The overall effect is one of dynamic, ethereal light patterns.

III.

A photograph of a construction site at night. A large orange excavator bucket is visible, partially illuminated by a bright light source, possibly a work lamp, which creates a strong glare. The scene is dark, with some debris and structural elements visible in the background.

WHAT WOULD IT TAKE?

Richard Lautens, courtesy the *Toronto Star*

The society that abolishes every adventure



Dave Rempel

makes its own abolition the only possible adventure.





We settle back – in our separate beds – to wait out the snowstorm, drinking the mandatory weak beer and enjoying the break from ordinary life. The break ends tomorrow. We'll spend the last day skiing and then drive an extravagant five hundred miles back to the boring routine that made it all possible.

Why do you unbuckle your belt when you pee? He's flummoxed. Briefly. He answers casually, explaining the nuances of a button fly. I let my thoughts drift around and inside that fly, enjoying this involuntary attraction, reliving our ridiculous games, not regretting feeling smutty. Earlier today while he was showering I had similar thoughts and quickly got off through my clothes, taking cover behind a duffel bag and not bothering to close the curtains or stop when a maid walked past and glanced in the window. I finished as he did, just in time before the door opened.

A book opens as I pick it up. It's *The Air-Conditioned Nightmare* and I start reading the words in front of me, words that describe the awful sameness of the American landscape, particularly its roadside motel rooms. To share the coincidence I read it aloud and shudder. How come no one notices how ugly our lives really are? We're so caught up in the stories we tell each other that we ignore the reality under our noses. We have inherited this way of being; the terrible dream is now ours to propagate as-is or transform. Repeatedly I remember and forget, remember and forget. We all do. We are in this together.

Our next round of getting physical comes soon enough: thanks to a flaky air conditioner, as it happens. He has spent a while playing around with it and finally has it working. All he seems to do is play around. He does it so well. Irresistibly well. And it mostly works. On me, anyway. Feel that, he says, holding his hand in front of the vent. I can't reach. So that I can, he lifts me up bodily. For some reason I melt. These silly gestures of his do that to me.

A lust for life burns hot inside me. Life must triumph over the greed and carelessness that our civilization

He comes out of the motel bathroom and sees me: sprawled across the second bed with a pillow over my face. Of course he leaps right on me. And acts like he's going to smother me. Squealing with delight, I push blindly at his head, smacking and choking him. We're both laughing. He quits ... eventually.

enables: razed mountaintops and vacuous butchery, countless species and cultures gone extinct, proselytized abuse and devastation and waste and illness and misery. Yet even in the eye of the storm with accelerating death and destruction all around – and to this our own existence (selfish genes!) contributes, owes itself to and is in jeopardy of – we still must find joy.

When he and I make love we follow a precise yet undeclared pattern of debauchery that reaches a climax who-knows-where. From our first meeting we have naturally behaved boldly toward one another, tumbling and wrestling and groping and reveling in reckless exploits like fools. He is like a juvenile tiger: rough but tender, aggressive yet gentle. He embodies the whole, a reflection of life as a whole: endless paradox and interconnectedness.

If humanity survives, it will be because we finally have learned to love life.

So far I am a revolutionary among my peers in my love for the living, in this radical and fierce passion for the informed action that sustains life. The day has not come when the majority adopt this burning paradigm, but it is coming. It must be, because for some of us it is already here inside our heads – and if we can change, so can the rest and therefore so can the world.

Those of us who have changed are the intermediaries between the wisdom of our ancestors and our kin in the community of life and the pure, arrogant folly of the civilized – also our kin. Just as no one doubts the earth to be round, to revolve around the sun, no longer can we imagine ourselves separate from and superior to the world. Changed minds will incrementally create the new reality and make our culture's sweeping delusion of human superiority – and the worldwide suffering that delusion causes – obsolete.

He ravishes unpredictably, exercising restraint enough to be subtle and intriguing: taunting, cornering or pinning me, complementing tendencies I didn't know I had. Simply wondering about his next move is gratifying enough for me not to ask outright and risk spoiling our real or imagined rapport. I am addicted to the uncanny

way these encounters arouse within me an acute awareness of death – of the sacred within the profane, of the mystery within the living.

Change is nothing to be afraid of. Nor are other people anything to be afraid of. They are just like you and me: created by our culture and just as inconsistent, filled with despair and filled with hope, all at once. We got ourselves into this fucked-up state. Our culture, that is, made a huge mistake in thinking we could break the law of life. But we can change. It wasn't always this way; we – as we are – are not the last word on humanity; this is not how it has to end; there is another vision-culture to be in, one that fosters life.

He is a ravenous lupine savage degenerate crapulous nerdy dirty athletic intimidating moody aloof provocative volatile endearing absurd and brilliant animal. A wonderful partially civilized hybrid whose unabashed primitive qualities I duly admire. I must generally resist my urge to touch him while welcoming or initiating these exceptions, periodically crossing some unspoken boundary as if even such relatively minor contact with his peculiar combination of traits transmits a critical exuberance that amplifies the capacity for wonder and awe without which I would expire.

My devotion to the world as a whole has reached a tipping point: I would instantly give up every comfort if that meant things could turn around. If only this were enough: I hereby renounce industrial agriculture and the catch-22 of a car and a job and cheaply manufactured goods and medical doctors and sugar and growth and the protection of the state and computers and phones and the opera and indoor plumbing and road trips and tennis shoes ... in a word, civilization itself. I do this in exchange for nonmaterial wealth: lightheartedness, harmlessness, mental health, real freedom and survival.

We each do what we can.

Lauren Alnwick-Pfund is a recent graduate of College of the Atlantic with a degree in Human Ecology.



Nineteen sixty-eight was something else completely – the pleasure of discovering a new humanity, a deep joy in ourselves and around us of realizing that elements of expression, imagination, and life can exist together. – Antonio Negri

THERE IS NO GREATER RESPONSIBILITY FOR INTELLECTUALS ...

Beaten down by the great defeats of utopian and social ideals, few today even bother to think about the kinds of society that could replace the present one, and most of that speculation is within a green paradigm limited by an insufficient appreciation of the regime of capital and of the depths needed for real change. Instead, Greens tend to imagine an orderly extension of community accompanied by the use of instruments that have been specifically created to keep the present system going, such as parliamentary elections and various tax policies. Such measures make transformative sense, however, only if seen as prefigurations of something more radical – something by definition not immediately on the horizon.

The first two steps on that path are clearly laid out and are within the reach of every conscientious person. These are that people ruthlessly criticize the capitalist system “from top to bottom,” and that they include in this a consistent attack on the widespread belief that there can be no alternative to it. If one believes that capital is not only basically unjust but radically unsustainable as well, the prime obligation is to spread news.

The belief that there can be no alternative to capital is ubiquitous – and no wonder, given how wonderfully convenient the idea is to the ruling ideology. That, however, does not keep it from being nonsense and a failure of vision and political will. Nothing lasts forever and what is humanly made can theoretically be unmade. Of course it could be the case that the job of changing it is too hard and capital is as far as humanity can go, in which instance we must simply accept our fate stoically and try to palliate the results. But we don't know this and cannot know this. There is no proving it one way or the other and only inertia, fear of change or opportunism can explain the belief in so shabby an idea as that there can be no alternative to capital for organizing society.

At some point the realization will dawn that all the sound ideas for, say, regulating the chemical industries or preserving forest ecosystems or doing something serious about species-extinctions or global warming or whatever point of ecosystem disintegration is of concern are not going to be realized by appealing to local changes in themselves or to the Democratic Party, to the Environmental Protection Agency, to the courts, to the foundations, to ecophilosophies or to changes in consciousness. For the overriding reason is that we are living under a regime that controls both the state and the economy and that regime will have to be overcome at its root if we are to save the future.

Relentless criticism can delegitimize the system and release people into struggle. And as struggle develops, victories that are no more than incremental on their own terms – stopping a meeting of the IMF, stirring hopes with a campaign such as Ralph Nader's in 2000 – can have a symbolic effect far greater than their external result and can constitute points of rupture with capital. This rupture is not a set of facts added to our knowledge of the world but a change in our relation to the world. Its effects are dynamic, not incremental, and like all genuine insights it changes the balance of forces and can propagate very swiftly. Thus the release from inertia can trigger a rapid cascade of changes, so that it could be said that the forces pressing toward radical change need not be linear and incremental, but can be exponential. In this way, conscientious and radical criticism of the given, even in advance of blueprints for an alternative, can be a material force because it can seize the mind of the masses of the people. There is no greater responsibility for intellectuals.

From Joel Kovel's *Enemy of Nature: The End of Capitalism or the End of the World?* Joel Kovel is the editor of *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, a journal of ecosocialism. ensjournal.org.

TO LIVE



Paths are never straight lines.

They zigzag, journey uphill and down. They reach dead ends. But when we put our best foot forward, we just might venture in utopia's direction, toward a world from below, by and for all.

We gingerly find stepping-stones to more marvelous destinations. Then strive to cobble together whole landscapes out of nonhierarchical practices. We kick broken glass from our way. Sometimes get lost. But the precarious passage itself is our road map to a liberatory society.

We hold hands, desiring to traverse anew. When darkness descends, we build campfires from the embers of possibility ... and see other flames in the distance.

Cindy Milstein, *Anarchism and Its Aspirations*

Dear Adbusters,

Ten years after 9/11 I find myself thinking more and more about that day and what has happened because of it.

We watched the whole thing on the old television in the classroom, my classmates either crying hysterically or frozen in fear. As I stared sullenly into that old screen, I realized nothing would ever be the same again. My teacher was at a loss for words but tried to reassure us that we were all safe. As the years have passed I have come to see that she could not have been more wrong.

The epiphany came for me in an American History class at the Bible Belt college I attended. The instructor said in her southern drawl that terrorists attack America not because they have a legitimate ideological statement to make but because they are jealous of our freedoms.

I laughed in disbelief.

What freedoms was she referring to? The freedom to spend my life away? The freedom to live in a society that seems to be more terrified of itself every day? The freedom to be subjugated by a government that murders ruthlessly around the world with predator drones and makes it illegal to even question its actions?

Right after that laugh I was expelled from the classroom and told that I could come back only when I was prepared to learn. Just as I walked out the door I turned back to look at my classmates. I saw the same fear in their faces that I had seen nearly a decade earlier.

I never went back.

M. Podraza
Steele Creek, NC



Hi Adbusters,

After working in and around corporate marketing here in Australia for over 20 years, I recently left that world to live self-sufficiently on six acres.

My family and I have put in vegetable gardens, orchards and water tanks. We have chickens that provide us with eggs. We don't have a TV and are looking to move off the grid for all utilities. The food we don't grow ourselves we buy locally at farmers' markets. Most of our clothes come from second hand/thrift shops. In a nutshell, we are aiming to live with a smaller footprint on the planet.

My question – sorry about getting to it the long way! – is this:

Where does this fit in with Adbusters?

More and more people are engaging in growing their own food; taking responsibility for their own power and water; and actively creating a simpler, more sustainable and joyful life – a life more free each day from the grip of corporate consumerism. Isn't this subversive? Isn't this what Adbusters wants?

We can do things to help each other live simpler, freer lives. I have written a booklet describing edible plants that grow all around us, free for the taking. What a radical concept: Just collect free food!

Maybe Adbusters could help us help each other by asking readers what they are doing that lets them live simpler, freer lives – and by publishing the most helpful responses.

Cheers,
Doris Pozzi

Dear Adbusters,

I work as a massage therapist in a rural community. I work and live in old ways of communication: touch, eye-to-eye contact, extended dialogues, physical nearness and contact.

I wonder how these old ways of communication will hold up under the new, present-day conditions of much of our society: being very mobile; changing homes, jobs, and families often; and living with computers, cell phones and easy access to immediate public worldwide communications.

In my practice and in my community I see it reflected in individuals coping in a system of signals without sensation but with access 24/7. It is new, exciting and freeing. It can also be an incredible tool in solving problems. It is full of potential. But it can also be exhausting, depressing and limiting.

Will the depth, creativity and energy of humanity – and the whole of the natural world – be lessened or increased by our new capabilities and new conditions?

Audrey Jett
Mt. Grove, MO

Hey Adbusters,

The meme wars is a great way to describe the global struggle going on right now between Big Oil/Big War/Big Corporate Agenda and local people everywhere.

Since the lean and mean 1980s, the corporate agenda has dominated ... and has culminated in the economic and environmental crisis that we find ourselves in now. God help us all!

Here are three new ways of thinking – three meme champions – that counter the vicious actions of corporations while healing our bodies and the Earth:

SLOW MONEY means taking a part of your savings, which are earning next to nothing at a bank, and pooling it with others to invest in local certified organic food production – like a flour mill – and then buying back some of the increased production and receive a better return than from the banks. Slow money is patient, local and long term.

LOCALIZATION involves paying for local food, local services and local products even if they cost more than cheap imports. This creates a stronger local economy; addresses food safety concerns of imports; and reduces transportation pollution and energy costs. Localization is the opposite of globalization.

BIOREGIONS recognizes that geography is history. Cities now compete with each other for corporate investment using tax credits and so on, but that can change. Some cities are cooperating with nearby cities to support and complement the strengths that each has instead of competing. Increasing trade between neighboring cities and within distinct geographical areas is a positive way to adapt to climate change.

Robert Dixon

Dear Adbusters,

I'm working in Columbus, Ohio to organize a BALLE (Business Alliance for Local Living Economies) chapter.

A BALLE chapter is a stealth bomb: organizing grassroots, independently owned businesses to speed up the evolutionary process of transitioning out of the current dominant consumer culture. To use an ecological metaphor, we grow the local economy until it emerges and displaces the Wall Street colonization of Main Streets. We don't "fight the man" but rather work to rebuild our communities with triple bottom line *economics* and create a mindshift to think local first: buy local, eat local, bank local, play local, drink local, heal local, and so on.

BALLE is the inspiration of David Korten, Michael Shuman, founding mother Judy Wicks and many others. There are 80+ BALLE chapters in a growing network of collaborative, transparent, change-focused organizations. The model is scalable; applicable to the third world; and drives change at the heart of consumer capitalism: refocusing on local sustainable economies that can be inter-networked globally.

Chuck Lynd

Columbus, OH

For more on BALLE, see livingeconomies.org.

A week of Carnavalesque Rebellion ... What a great idea!

My suggestion is to plead for a non-meat/fish-week to draw attention to the way animals are treated like things instead of beings. We could put stickers/flyers/posters on packages and walls in supermarkets showing how animals are confined in CAFOs and then slaughtered on an industrial scale.

Or maybe if some people don't want to forgo eating meat, they should buy meat only from a little local farm during this week.

So long,
Katharina Osthoff

To oppose a violent system with violence only reinforces the system itself. A fight against oppression will find strength and ultimately success through intelligent, peaceful action that exposes the greed and fear that corrupts any system it leaches onto, including capitalism. There's no sense in devaluing people just because they're a part of a system. Violence, anger and aggression are immediate and dramatic, but they divert media and the masses away from real issues and create a smokescreen in which the freedom of plain and simple truth is lost.

With you,
David Smith



I don't know what other culture jammers across the world will do, but I can tell you what we're planning here in southern California's most popular and glamorous shopping mall: We're slapping the "Corporate Crime" poster inside bathroom stalls throughout all stores. That's the one place where not even mall security can see.

"Power through potties" is what I call it.

Please send out the word to all who want to hit the epicenter of consumer capitalism.

Adam Saby

How about attaching our own locks to the doors of big box, national chain stores and major retailers everywhere before they open for Black Friday?

Elliot John Novak

Hit every billboard in London and New York at the same time with colorful paint bombs.

James Taylor

[TACTICAL BRIEFING]

ACTIVISM AFTER CLICKTIVISM

For more than a decade revolutionaries and culture jammers have been paralyzed by the computer screen. Trusting the promises of technocrats and digital visionaries, dazzled by the viral hype surrounding MoveOn and the like, we've come to rely far too heavily on a particular form of internet organizing. Believing that clicktivism could spark social change, we deployed market-tested messaging, glitzy Ajax websites and social networking apps. We entrusted our revolution to San Francisco techies and put our faith in the methods of advertising. But we have become so dependent on digital gimmicks that our revolutionary potential is now constrained.

Clicktivism is the pollution of activism with the logic of consumerism. Activism is debased with advertising and computer science. What defines clicktivism is an obsession with metrics. Each link clicked and email opened is meticulously monitored. Subject lines are A/B tested and talking points focus-grouped. Clicktivists dilute their messages for mass appeal and make calls to action that are easy, insignificant and impotent. Their sole campaign objective is to inflate participation percentages, not to overthrow the status quo. In the end, social change is marketed like a brand of toilet paper.

The fundamental problem with this technocratic approach is that metrics value only what is measurable. Clicktivism neglects the vital, immeasurable inner events and personal epiphanies that great social ruptures are actually made of. The history of revolutions attests that upheaval is always improbable, unpredictable and risky. A few banal pronouncements about "democracy in action" coupled with an online petition will not usher in social transformation. **As Malcolm Gladwell put it recently, "activism that challenges the status quo – that attacks deeply rooted problems – is not for the faint of heart."** Clicktivism reinforces the fear of standing out from the crowd and taking a strong position. It discourages calling for drastic action. And as such, clicktivism will never breed social revolution. To think that it will is a fallacy. One that is dawning on us.

The demise of clicktivism is rebooting activism. It is setting off a paradigm shift in social change that opens the door to a new generation of activists. This

rejuvenation is emboldened by three tactical insights: revolutions spring from epiphanies; the internet is best suited for memewar; and daring real-world actions are the indispensable foundation of social change.

Gone is trust in watered-down talking points and the "best practices" of keyboard messiahs. Metrics are being forgotten, website logs deleted, analytics ignored. Instead, passionate poetry is regaining precedence. The challenge of sparking epiphanies is the new revolutionary priority. But this does not mean we shut our eyes entirely to the potential of technology.

On the contrary, the next generation of activists will readily acknowledge that the internet plays a crucial tactical role. In the battle for the mind, the speedy dissemination of mindbombs, image-ambushes and thought-viruses is strategically essential. This is memewar, after all, and the web levels the battlefield against the propagandists of consumerism.

Still, real-world action is the only way to achieve social revolution. Clicking a link can never replace taking to the streets. Nor can we rely on digital technologies to get people off the screens.

Activism is scary. Social change is initially unpopular and insurrection always starts with disobedience. Trepidation is, therefore, the healthy response to the realities of culture jamming. Moments before victory, every revolutionary has felt the gut-pang of anxiety. But clicktivism encourages us to shirk these emotions, to hide behind the mouse, to embrace the inaction of passive clicking. Against this tendency, let us welcome butterflies back into our bellies.

Activism will be reborn when culture jammers find strength in the exhilaration of resistance, the intensity of protest and the emotions unleashed by taking part in upheaval.

Micah White



REVOLT,

if it is to be successful, must come from the mind; a growing unease and dissatisfaction with things as they are. Revolt may be leaderless, but it cannot be idea-less. Revolt, if one examines the idea, is not a new or unusual thing, merely a reversal of direction. We do it often, sometimes silently, sometimes angrily, but we do it. A choice is seen in greater clarity than before and we merely accept the path which gives us greater benefits, even if it is different from one we chose before. So revolt, to be successful, must present with greater clarity and force of argument the reasons for taking an alternative path to that one now in use, must convince that what one has now is insignificant compared to what one could have, and must present the methods by which this change could be made. It could be said that any society has vested interests in the status quo which could not be unseated by argument. I disagree. For any revolution to succeed, even those interests must be shown to gain, or to lose less by cooperation than they would otherwise. I, as a Progressive Anarchist, want the complete overthrow of present societies, but not now, not immediately, not violently, but gradually and peacefully as ideas gradually seep through one's mind. The intention of this revolutionary is to assault your mind and destroy your beliefs.

Lawrence Morley

[TACTICAL INSIGHT]

THE LOGIC OF NOT DEMANDING

The Tea Party protests are shaking things up in conservative politics. But what have we dissenters from the left accomplished recently? Not much. We fill the streets, wave our signs and choke on some tear gas. Black bloc anarchists smash a few windows and pull off some daring stunts, but then the 24-hour news cycle moves on and we're left feeling empty. Nothing has changed.

In a perverse way our protests may actually be reinforcing and validating the global consumerist regime. I sincerely believe that the G20 Summit leaders and organizers sigh with relief when they hear that we are once again mobilizing massive protests against them. After all, what would a successful economic summit be without thousands of angry protesters clashing with rows of automaton riot police and a few cop cars burning in the streets? Without sporadic spectacles like that, capitalism would lose its dynamic spark.

Maybe it's time we deny them their regularly scheduled spectacles and try something new.

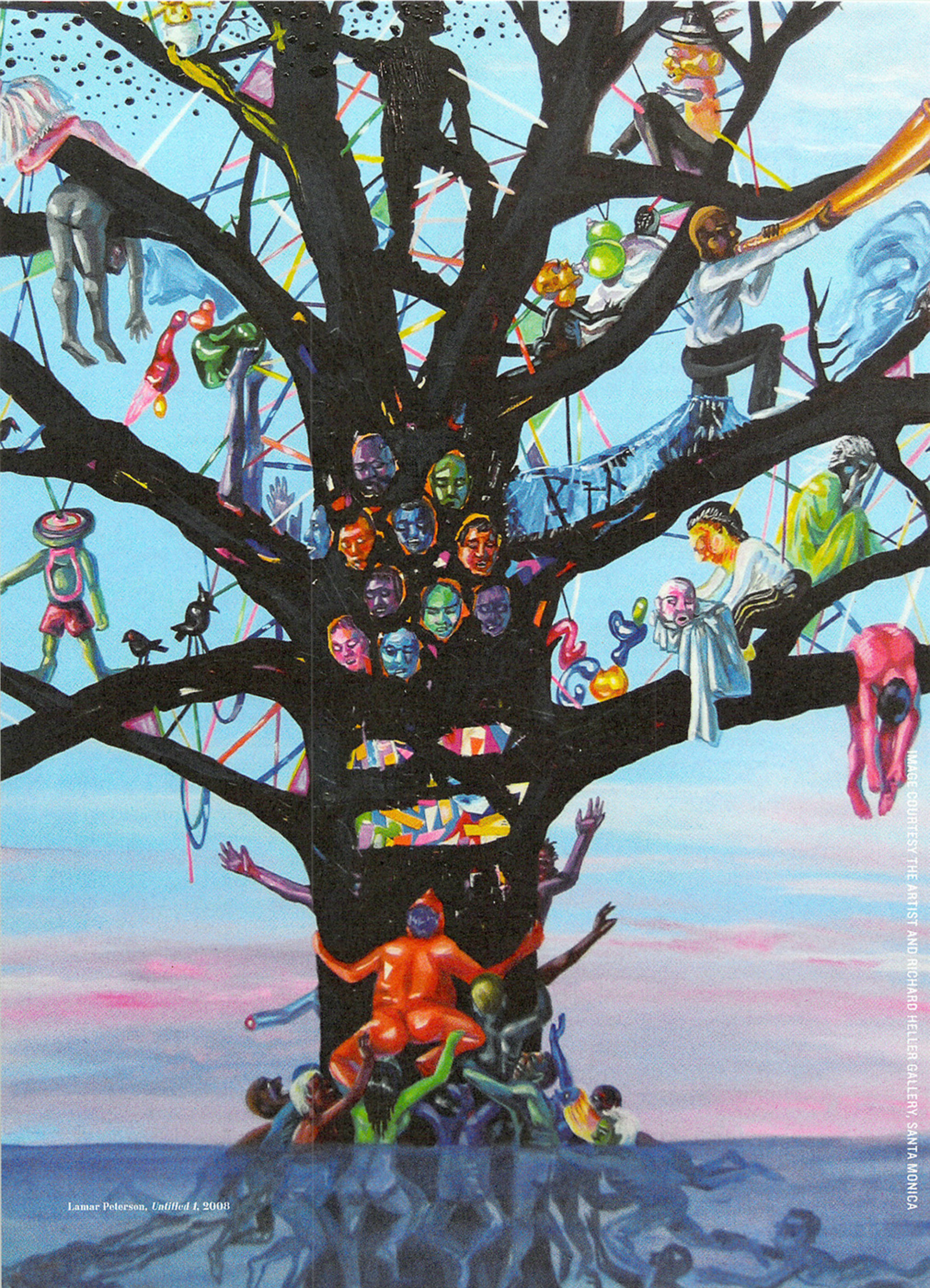
Next time they call an economic summit, why don't we just ignore them? Instead of massive displays of anger, let's give them eerily empty streets ... silence ... not a peep ... nothing to validate their billion dollar security budgets. We refuse to react, refuse to engage, refuse to make demands. We don't tell them what we want because they already know what we want: *We want their system to die.* Why make demands of the thing you want to destroy? Negotiating only grants legitimacy and continuity.

Instead we live like cats on the prowl, pulling off little acts of rebellion that frustrate their doomsday machine at every turn. Acts like cutting up our credit cards, moving our money, buying locally and spreading revolutionary memes. We meet in little groups in local indie coffee shops plotting audacious pranks and acts of civil disobedience: slowing traffic, liberating billboards, detonating stink bombs – crazy, random acts that hurt the bottom line.

Every day of the week we create weird, wild, wonderful happenings wherever we live around the globe. And we grow bolder with every 0.001 C° rise in the global temperature ... more passionate with every 0.001 inch rise in the sea level ... more defiant with every billion dollar Goldman Sachs bonus package. We attack capitalism – not at officially sanctioned protests – but like bees attacking a wounded beast with a billion incessant stings. We keep escalating our actions until the cost of doing business as usual becomes impossible to bear. And the bloodied beast finally falls to its knees.

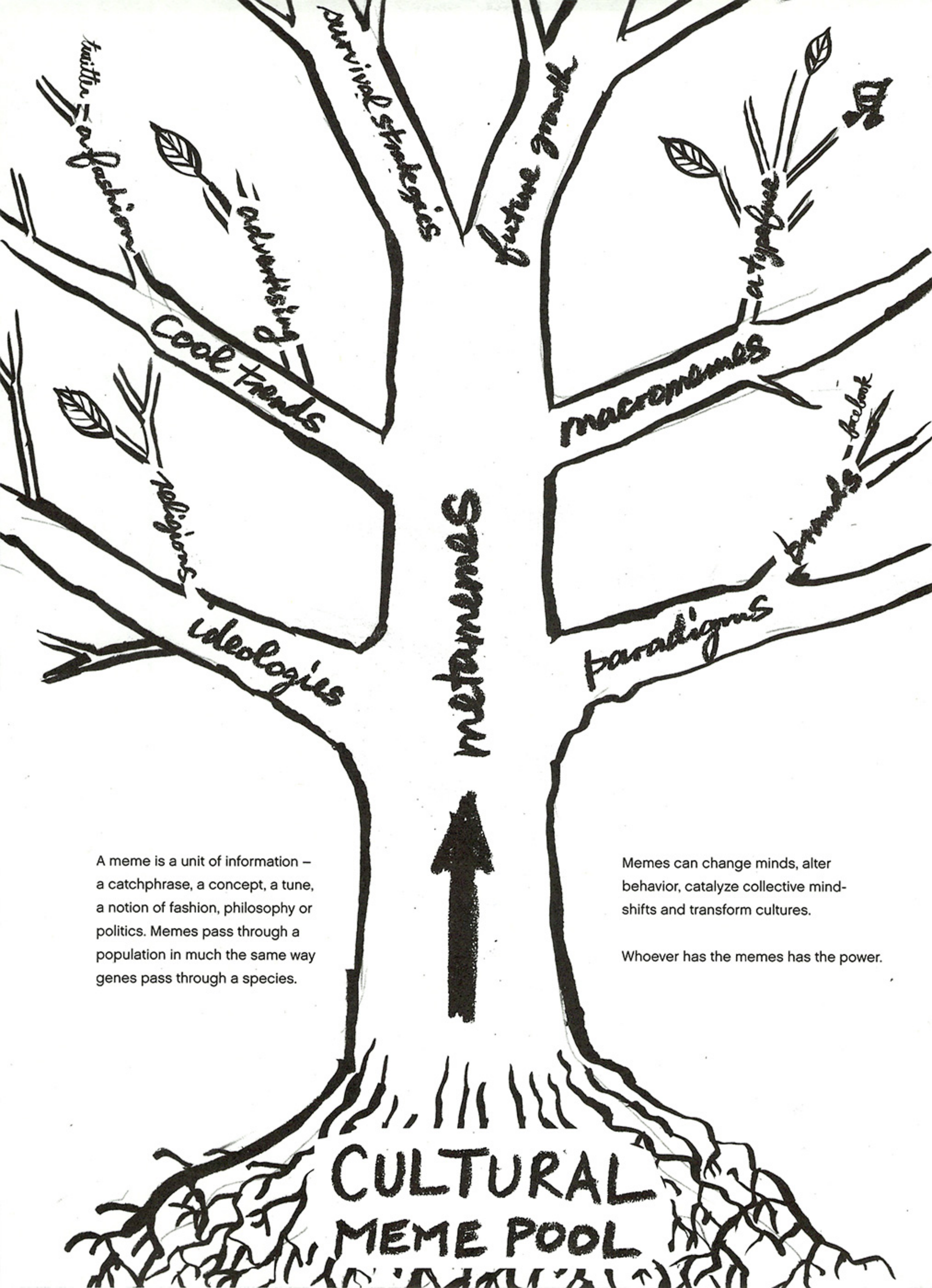
This November's Carnival is a good time to start: Let them have their conferences and summits ... we will have our revolution of everyday life.

Kalle Lasn, inspired by A.G. Schwarz and Tasos Săgrīs in *We Are an Image from the Future*.



Lamar Peterson, *Untitled 1*, 2008

IMAGE COURTESY THE ARTIST AND RICHARD HELLER GALLERY, SANTA MONICA

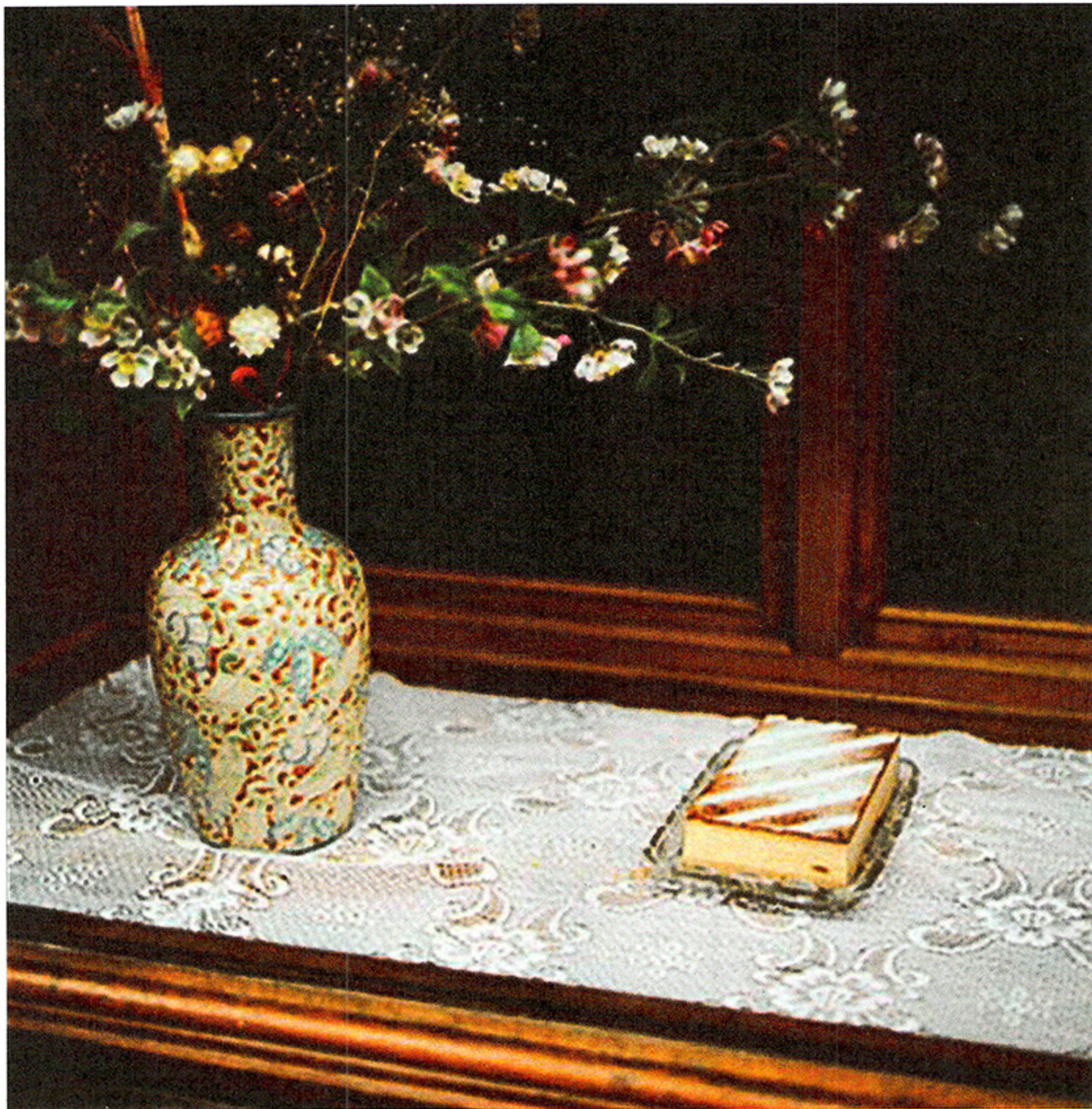


A meme is a unit of information – a catchphrase, a concept, a tune, a notion of fashion, philosophy or politics. Memes pass through a population in much the same way genes pass through a species.

Memes can change minds, alter behavior, catalyze collective mind-shifts and transform cultures.

Whoever has the memes has the power.

David Hlynsky



Bakery, one piece of cake, Krakow, Poland, 1988.



METAMEME #1:

ZERO GROWTH

Economic growth, which was supposed to ensure the affluence and well-being of everyone, has created needs more quickly than it could satisfy them, and has led to a series of dead ends that are not solely economic in character: Capitalist growth is in crisis not only because it is capitalist but also because it is encountering physical limits.

It is impossible to imagine palliatives for one or another of the problems that have given rise to the present crisis. But its distinctive character is that it will inevitably be aggravated by each of the successive and partial apparent solutions to its problems.

While it has all the characteristics of a classical crisis of overproduction, the current crisis also possesses a number of new dimensions that Marxists, with rare exceptions, have not foreseen and that what has until now been understood as "socialism" does not adequately address. It is a crisis in the relation between the individual and the economic sphere as such; a crisis in the character of work; a crisis in our relations with nature, with our bodies, with our sexuality, with society, with future generations, with history; a crisis of urban life, of habitat, of medical practice, of education, of science.

We know that our present mode of life is without future; that the children we will bring into the world will use neither oil nor a number of now-familiar metals during their adult lives; that if current nuclear programs are implemented, uranium reserves will be exhausted by then.

We know that our world is ending; that if we go on as before, the oceans and the rivers will be sterile, the soil infertile, the air unbreathable in the cities and life a privilege reserved for the selected specimens of a new race of human, adapted by chemical conditioning and genetic programming to survive in a new ecological niche, carved out and sustained by biological engineering.

We know that for a hundred and fifty years industrial society has developed through the accelerated looting of reserves whose creation required tens of millions of years and we know that until very recently all economists, whether classical or Marxist, have rejected as irrelevant or “reactionary” all questions concerning the longer-term future – that of the planet, that of the biosphere, that of civilizations. “In the long run we shall all be dead,” said Keynes, wryly asserting that the temporal horizon of the economist should not exceed the next 10 or 20 years. “Science,” we were assured, would find new paths; engineering would discover new processes undreamed of today.

But science and technology have ended up making this central discovery: All productive activity depends on borrowing from the finite resources of the planet and on organizing a set of exchanges within a fragile system of multiple equilibriums.

The point is not to deify nature or to “go back” to it, but to take account of a simple fact: Human activity finds in the natural world its external limits. Disregarding these limits sets off a backlash whose effects we are already experiencing in specific though still widely misunderstood ways: new diseases and new forms of *dis-ease*, maladjusted children (but maladjusted to what?), decreasing life expectancy, decreasing physical yields and economic pay-offs and a decreasing quality of life despite increasing levels of material consumption.

The response of economists up to now has essentially consisted of dismissing as “utopian” or “irresponsible” those who have focused attention on these symptoms of a crisis in our fundamental relation to the natural world, a relation in which all economic activity is grounded. The boldest concept which modern political economy dared envisage was that of “zero growth” in physical consumption. Only one economist, Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen, has had the common sense

to point out that, even at zero growth, the continued consumption of scarce resources will inevitably result in exhausting them completely. The point is not to refrain from consuming more and more, but to consume less and less – there is no other way of conserving the available reserves for future generations.

This is what ecological realism is about.

The standard objection is that any effort to arrest or reserve the process of growth will perpetuate or even worsen existing inequalities and result in deterioration in the material conditions of those who are already poor. But the idea that growth reduces inequality is a faulty one – statistics show that, on the contrary, the reverse is true. It may be objected that these statistics apply only to capitalist countries and that socialism would produce greater social justice; but why then should it be necessary to produce more things? Would it not be more rational to improve the conditions and the quality of life by making more efficient use of available resources; by producing different things differently; by eliminating waste; and by refusing to produce socially those goods that are so expensive as to never be available to all or that are so cumbersome or polluting that their costs outweigh their benefits as soon as they become accessible to the majority?

Radicals who refuse to examine the question of equality without growth merely demonstrate that “socialism,” for them, is nothing but the continuation of capitalism by other means – an extension of middle class values, lifestyles and social patterns that the more enlightened members of that class, under pressure from their daughters and sons, are already beginning to reject.

Today a lack of realism no longer consists in advocating greater well-being through the inversion of growth and the subversion of the prevailing way of life. Lack of realism consists in imagining that economic growth can still bring about increased human welfare – and indeed that it is still physically possible.

André Gorz, from *Ecology as Politics*. Gorz, a French philosopher and journalist, refused to oppose the deployment of missiles by the United States into West Germany in 1983, rebuking the pacifist movements he had been previously aligned with.

David Hlynsky



Communal juice glass, Moscow 1990.

What's Wrong with Being the World's No. 2?

Japan may be the
first nation to opt for
a no growth, steady
state economy.

by Roland Kelts

Woodcuts by Ezaki Mitsuru





“What’s wrong with being the world’s No. 2?”

So said Renhō, the single-monikered and, for a Japanese politician, unusually single-minded 42-year-old female member of the ruling Democratic Party of Japan, tapped by Prime Minister Naoto Kan this summer to serve as minister of administrative reform (aka, chief budget-slasher). Renhō uttered the question during a debate late last year on financing a next-generation supercomputer project powerful enough to compete with the US, but her plaintive question resonated far beyond the walls of Japan’s Upper House chamber.

By the middle of this year, as the stack of urgent reports concerning Japan’s stagnant economy, political paralyzes, fading competitiveness, so-called Galápagos syndrome isolationism, emerging social strains amid widening income gaps, diminished labor pools and a rapidly aging population piled high, Renhō’s rhetorical query seemed to cut to the core of Japan’s mounting troubles.

She was promptly criticized, most notably by old guard politicians like former Trade Minister Takeo Hiranuma when he offhandedly reminded voters that Renhō “[was] not originally Japanese,” playing the hoary hand of nationalism by referring to her naturalization in 1985.

Born to a Taiwanese father and Japanese mother, Renhō is a former pinup model and TV news presenter who maintains a very active Twitter account, YouTube channel and Ustream internet video streaming site. She favors short haircuts and lean white jackets over her almost entirely middle-aged male colleagues’ bland barbering and suits of charcoal gray. A *Wall Street Journal* profile of Renhō this summer called her “the ruling party’s most recognizable face,” a significant label even in a country that has gone through five prime ministers in four years.

In other words: Most Japanese needed no reminder of who she is.

And then it happened. In the middle of Japan's month-long summer holidays, during which local papers reported that some companies were curtailing vacations or cutting them altogether to stay competitive, the international media made it official: Japan suddenly became No. 2, at least in Asia, and No. 3 in the rest of the world. China had made sure and quick work of it.

Reaction in Japan's domestic media was mute to nonexistent. Some questioned the various methods used to calculate GDP figures, while other outlets simply ignored the story. The implied answer to Renhō's question, which resonated deeply enough that she published a book titled *Do We Have to Be No. 1?* in June, has grown glaringly obvious: What's wrong with being No. 2 is that you have to adapt to it.

Many of the challenges, hang-ups and hindrances sidelining Japan today are already squeezing the present and stalling the futures of Western nations too. Articles dreading the 'Japanization' of the American economy – indicating stagnant growth, slow to no government intervention and plummeting interest rates – proliferated in the Western media throughout Japan's long hot summer.

As I wrote in these pages two years ago, far from its late 20th-century incarnation as a global icon of soaring technological advancement and societal progress, a kind of Shangri-La with superior cell phones, Japan today can look a lot more like a coal mine with a shrinking population of canaries suffocating from isolation, fatigue and lack of hope, where change is less a political slogan than a stark necessity.

"After the war, Japan copied the positive side of American society," says author, translator and American Studies Professor Motoyuki Shibata of the University of Tokyo. "Democracy and individual freedom, higher standards of living. Even if we didn't know what the phrases or words meant, we felt them. But since the early years of this century, we started mimicking the worst sides of America – the outsourcing and status rankings and the extremes of competitiveness. A winner-take-all mentality. That has created many problems for Japan that are difficult for us to

overcome. It has also made my younger Japanese students very wary of America."

Ironically, Japan's adoption of American and other Western strategies for growth, beginning in the late 19th century and accelerated in the 20th, may be backfiring in the 21st – enabling Japan to show Western nationals where they're going wrong by being at the forefront of socio-economic trauma and transformation.

"Since the 90s, after the bubble economy crisis, the whole of Japan lost confidence," says author and essayist Ryū Murakami in an effort to pinpoint the paralyzes inflicting Japan at a time of encroaching crises. "But when I was young, Japan was so much worse off. We had so many problems. The only good thing was that everyone could expect that things would be better in five or ten years. Your salary would rise. And when you turned 28, you knew you could get married. Maybe you could only buy a compact car, but then in ten years, you knew that you would be able to buy a bigger car, a sedan.

"And by that time, maybe you could also afford a little apartment. So everyone could believe that their life would just be better in 5, 10 or 15 years."

Such mounting expectations are the engine of capitalist dreams, and Japan, as a summa cum laude student of Western economies, and a status quo-keeper par excellence, learned to dream big, sometimes bigger than its masters did. In the 1980s, Japan as No. 1 made Westerners, especially Americans, quake in their boardrooms. Big gets bigger, money begets money and expectations ascend accordingly into a nebulous notion of happiness.

"But today, young Japanese people are being victimized by corporations," Murakami adds. "These corporations want a minimum of salaried workers so they can keep costs down and profits high, and so there are a growing number of poor young people. They are the 'working poor' in Japan. Some work as part-timers, some work as single-project contract workers, some are from temp-staff agencies. There is even an employment form called single-day contract work, in which you are delivered to an office to work only for that day."

The result? "It's harder to design one's life, to plan any kind of future," Murakami says. "In fact, it's nearly impossible."

Pessimism in the face of failing, arguably outdated economic systems, government strategies and social solutions is hardly limited to Japan. When I return to the post-2008 US, I find people drained of confidence and filled with cynicism and rage, whatever their political affiliation, facing oil spills, corruption and waste with a furrowed brow as skeptical and unrepentant as that of any Clint Eastwood hero or samurai warrior.

Kireru and *hikikomori* are two Japanese words that have recently found places in the Oxford English Dictionary. The former refers to a sudden loss of rationality in a violent act, what we might call "snapping" or "losing it," or more colloquially, "going postal." The latter – *hikikomori* – refers to extreme social isolationism: specifically, to the growing number of young Japanese who retreat to their rooms and digital devices, sacrificing family, friends, education and jobs. In other words: a complete "dropping out," in 60s parlance, without the requisite narcotic and spiritual "tuning in."

University of Tokyo Professor Shibata takes the long view. "We can go back to the Meiji era in the 1860s, when Japan opened, and with the exception of the war, even though we Japanese were pretty poor, we always hoped that [the next generation] would be living a better life.

"But nowadays, we know that the economy will be never as good as it was. People talk about the disappearance of the grand story or the big answer. When we were young, we thought that some kind of political or cultural philosophy would provide an answer about how to live. But after postmodernism, everything became relative and things are relative now. And young people, even though they don't know anything about postmodernism, know instinctively that nobody or nothing will provide them an answer about big questions, like how to live."


Shibata is articulating a crisis of civilization that seems especially pronounced in Japan, partly because the nation advanced so rapidly in a relatively short time, but also because its current threats are so perplexing. How could a nation so materially rich

Japan may be
the ideal nation
to represent a
new paradigm:
De-ownership,
demonetization
and de-materialism.

and highly educated (the official Japanese literacy rate hovers at 99 percent) be so ill-equipped to confront the challenges of the future? The face of Japan in the rest of the developed world is one of enervation and inaction, passivity borne out of boredom and bafflement.

"[My students] materially live a better life than almost anyone in the world," Shibata adds. "But having hope or having anxiety is not really a matter of what you have. You can be quite hopeful without having anything. And you can be quite anxious about your future, even though you have plenty of things right here and right now."

Less than a week after news of China's ascent seemed to signal Japan's retreat, an op-ed article appeared in the *New York Times* called "Japan and the Ancient Art of Shrugging." Its author, literary critic and Waseda University Professor Norihiro Kato, shifted the tone of the global media narrative with a deft gesture that felt to me both arresting and true. When he first read that China had overtaken Japan as the world's second largest economy, Kato wrote that he reacted with "a sigh of relief":



“Freshly overtaken by China, Japan now seems to stand at the vanguard of a new downsizing movement, leading the way for countries bound sooner or later to follow in its wake.”

In similarly calm, evenhanded tones, Kato explained to me over lunch in New York that the character of Japan has been deformed by its efforts to sustain growth at all costs. He uses a native metaphor – the unevenness of one shoulder up and one down, what is called in Japanese *migi-kata-agari*, a graph that records only growth – to suggest that Japan’s postwar economic bubble was an aberration, a sign of illness.

“The relief I felt had something to do with the person [Japan] I saw there, no longer so awkwardly bent. Finally we know where Japan stands – on level ground.”

Kato went so far as to praise young Japanese for their apparent withdrawal from global economic standards. The very isolationism and passivity bemoaned by social scientists and economists alike in the face of a critical historical moment strikes Kato as a kind of 21st-century sophistication.

“Young people have grown less interested in studying foreign languages,” he writes. “They seem not to feel the urge to grow outward. ‘Look,’ they say, ‘Japan is a small country. And we’re OK with small.’”

“It is, perhaps, a sort of maturity.”

Kato’s article was attacked from both left and right. Leftists in Japan and elsewhere in Asia and the West claimed he was once again promoting Japan as a superior model – Japan as No. 1 – in the face of economic decline. Rightists claimed that he was selling Japan short, ridiculing his homeland’s ultimate demise.

“Pity Japan” was the title of an opinion story in the *Economist*, specifically targeting Kato’s *New York Times* editorial, bemoaning his embrace of sustainability over constant growth. After hammering Kato for prizing maturity and selflessness, the *Economist* writer sniffs: “This is one of the saddest things I’ve read in a long time.”

“Some people called me a nationalist,” Kato told me in New York, smiling and, yes, shrugging. “They said I was claiming Japan would be ‘No. 1’ again.”

Stimulated by Kato’s suggestion that Japan’s malaise might be instead a model of modesty, I met with him to find out what he was trying to say – about relief and acceptance and how Japan might show us strategies for endurance in a limited world.

“I do think the stable 200 years of the Edo period [17th- to 19th-century Japan] can be a kind of lesson for globalization,” Kato says. “But the weak point is desire. Edo people weren’t really happy. We need to discover how to be happy with limited resources.”

Starting in the 19th century, with the reign of the Meiji Emperor, “Japan expanded, territorially and economically,” he writes. “But before that, the country went through a 250-year period of comparative isolation and very limited economic growth. The experience of rapid growth is a relatively new phenomenon for us. Japan remembers what it is like to be old, to be quiet and to turn inward.”

Turning inward is an unspoken taboo in the 21st century, with its trumpeted benefits of an inevitably globalized marketplace. But what if the so-called pathologies of modern Japan – its apparent inertia, solipsism and inward-focused “Galápagos syndrome” strategies – turn out to be, at least in part, pragmatic responses to a future of limited resources?

Junko Edahiro, an environmental activist, writer and cofounder of Japan For Sustainability, believes that Japan may be the ideal nation to represent a new paradigm: “De-ownership, demonetization, de-materialism,” she writes, “are the dominant behaviors of young Japanese.” Edahiro sees the new Japan as an ideal testing ground for concepts that remove the individual from structures of sheer consumption.

“I personally have high expectations and am paying attention to these three trends of ‘de-ownership,’ ‘demonetization,’ and ‘de-materialism,’” Edahiro says, “which are quietly progressing at the grassroots level deep in people’s minds and changing their sense of values – although articles about such trends rarely hit the headlines in economic newspapers.”

Could Japan’s retreat from globalism be a model for the rest of us?

"We might serve as a model for other countries, including the US," Edahiro tells me from Tokyo, "if only as a model for making the best of limited resources. We are all facing the same dilemma: limited resources and aging populations."

Is Japan uniquely suited to teaching us – Americans and others – how to survive with less? And what does "less" actually mean?

A growing number of Japanese value 'spiritual richness' more than 'material abundance,' Edahiro says. "And this fact, I think, lies behind the major structural change."

As a half-Japanese American drifting between both cultures, my response to the so-called downsizing mentality is twofold: great, if we can sustain our habitual standards of living; awful, if we have to sacrifice what we've come to consider basics. In market- and consumer-driven capitalism, greed, as the line goes, is allegedly good. But in the narrowing parameters of 21st-century life, greed is fast becoming self-annihilating.

"Young people in Japan today are living without a lot of money," says Kato, "but they are still interested in the world. They still want more. The 'more' that they want isn't about money, though. They want knowledge. It's a kind of prosperity not based on resources. Maybe we should celebrate that."

Mottainai is the phrase Japanese use that roughly translates as wasting little and wanting not. It's hard to fully convey as concisely in English, but it maybe underscores a lesson worth careful study. (The phrase was circulated in Western media two years ago, upon the English translation of author Mariko Shinju's *Mottainai Grandma*, an environmental book for children.) What we have hitherto defined as basic needs may be extraneous, and what we need may be less wasteful – more about conservation and preservation than acquisition.

In a recent column for the *Japan Times*, staff writer and veteran journalist Kaori Shoji extolled Japan's long and storied history of prizing frugality and self-control over wanton expenditure. "The truth is that the Japanese are better at saving than spending," she wrote. "We have about 1,000 years of poverty and deprivation behind us, while the hankering to buy La Perla lingerie is less than three decades old."

Consumer-driven capitalism and greed, as the line goes, is allegedly good. But in the narrowing parameters of 21st-century life, greed is fast becoming self-annihilating.



Shoji cites the native stoicism of Japan's mighty shogun Ieyasu Tokugawa, who established Edo (today's Tokyo) as the nation's seat of power and effectively sealed off Japan from outside meddling for over 200 years. "[Tokugawa] instilled most of the ideas of *bushidō* (the way of the samurai) as we know it today – including frugality, abstinence and longevity – in the ideal samurai lifestyle. He lived to make it through the super-violent warring states period of the 14th century. When he finally seized power and unified the country, he was over 70 and all his rivals were dead. *Setsuyaku* (saving on resources) and *keizoku* (continuity) were his watchwords.

"The Japanese can get pretty creative when it comes to saving – and a sizable hunk of Japanese culture has been devoted to the intricacies of the art."

I ask Shoji if she thinks this gift for minimalistic living endures. "The Japanese temperament is suited to dealing with poverty, scarcity and extremely limited resources," she says. "If the [American] black ships hadn't shown up, we'd still be scratching our heads over the workings of the washing machine or the dynamics of a cheeseburger. On the other hand, with 4,000 years of frugality behind us, we Japanese have learned to be creative."

Wouldn't it be nice in our benighted age if we could learn from the Japanese – at least from some of their rich legacy of intelligent and dignified frugality as we all become, effectively, No. 2?

Shoji is doubtful. "I don't think this making-do-with-what-we-got mentality would travel very far," she admits. "The West is used to centuries of pillaging, plundering, conquering and colonizing. They would probably find the intricacies of Japanese frugality pretty ridiculous, wouldn't you say? In terms of smart cars, smart technology, smart cities and so on, I think the Japanese are equipped with skills that are relevant on a global level. But in the day-to-day, individual practices, like hanging out your laundry to dry, packing a thermos to avoid Starbucks, forgoing the car and other personal actions that seem meaningful to the Japanese only because we've always been like this – I'm not so sure."

"It may take three or four years before we can fully confront a resourceless condition," concedes Kato. "But when we [Japanese] do, we might be able to show the West some ways to survive and be happy with less. The *hikikomori* (Japanese shut-ins) might actually be a new kind of survival strategy in a world without resources," he muses. "Maybe we should study that one percent of the Japanese populace with the will to survive. Maybe we can learn something."

Maybe, indeed. My last few years of shuttling between New York and Tokyo have proved revelatory. American systems and assumptions based on constant growth, wealth and prosperity, many of which are pathologically corrupt, are dying fast. The demands of the new world we live in feel a lot more Japanese – equitable, careful, quiet and modest. Limited resources, expanding and aging populations. We all know these factors are incontrovertible. Yet we, as Westerners, have been spectacularly ill-equipped to face them head on.

Japan is an archipelago slightly smaller than the US state of California. Its land is roughly 30% habitable, and it imports 50% of its food. Yet Japan still became the world's second largest economy in the span of 30 years.

Japan's inadvertent message to the rest of us may be to beat a civilized and sustainable retreat ... and to try to rescue and preserve resources in the face of an uncertain future. As Shoji writes, Shogun Tokugawa outlived his rivals not through mere violence and theft, pillaging and plundering, but through the principles of saving and continuity.

Back to Renhō, Japan's most hybrid new-breed politician, a woman who continues to provoke the nation's old-school, old-growth establishment. "What's wrong with being No. 2?" she asked.

Welcome to the new normal. If you're wise enough to embrace it, nothing at all.

Roland Nozomu Kelts is a half-Japanese American author, editor and lecturer. He is a 2010 Visiting Scholar at the University of Tokyo and the author of *Japanamerica: How Japanese Pop Culture has Invaded the US* and the forthcoming *Access*. He divides his time between New York and Tokyo.



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Adbusters magazine is published by Adbusters

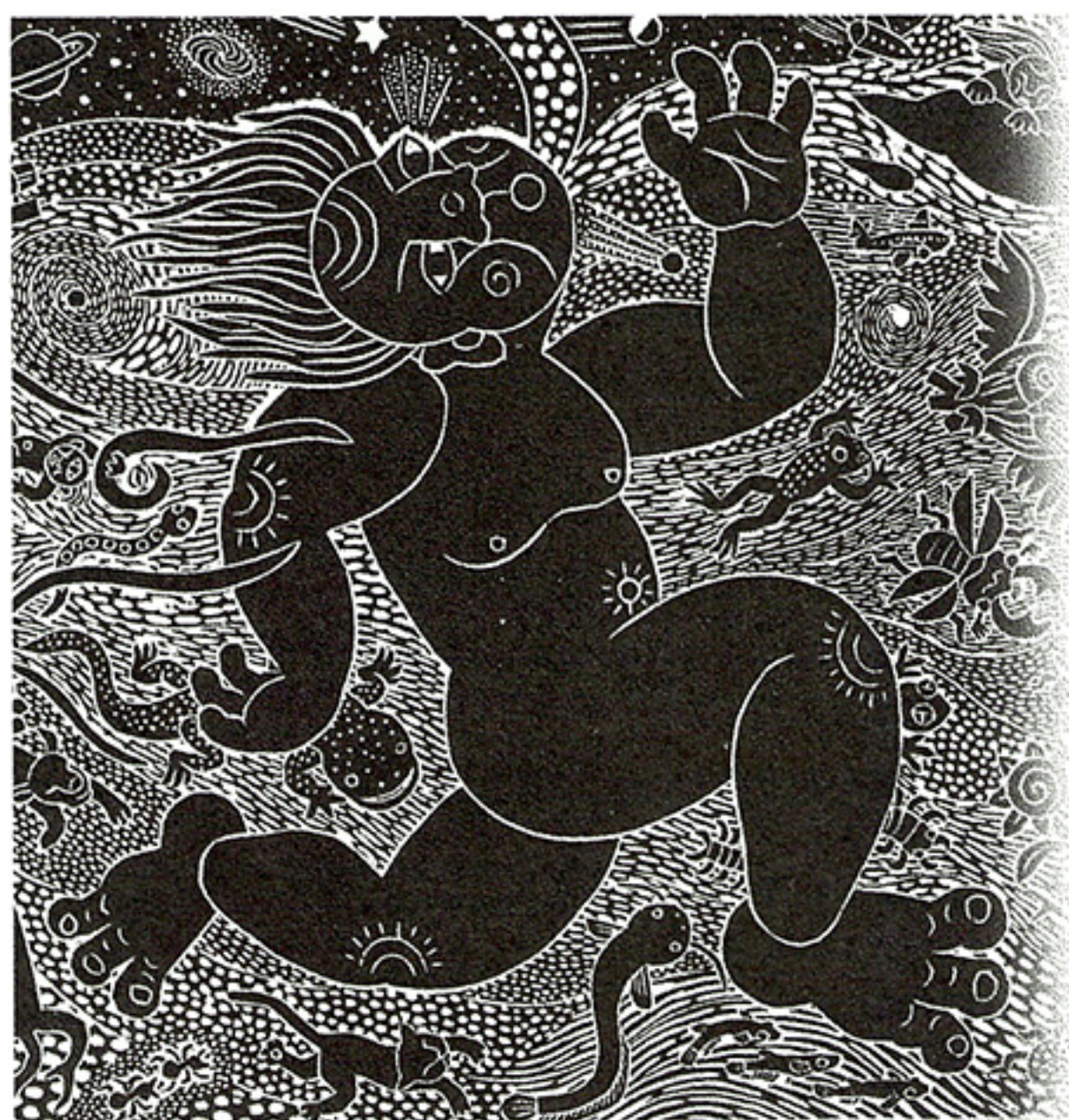
Media Foundation. GST# R127330082, ISBN/

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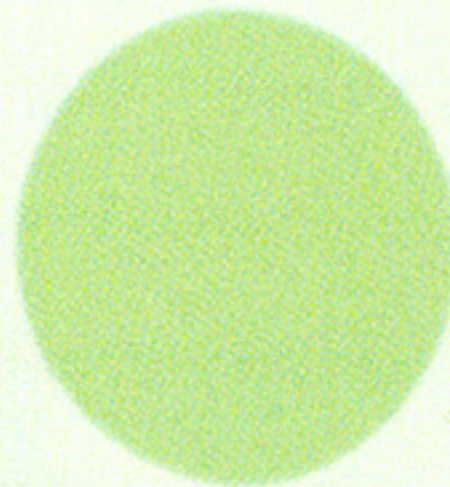
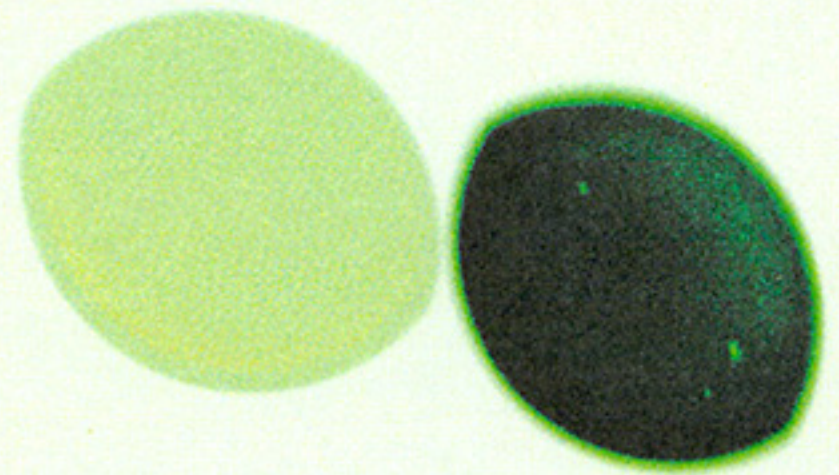
A foggy night scene in a parking lot. A tree in the background is covered with many small birds. A red Target crate is visible in the bottom left corner. The text "HEADING HOME" is overlaid in the center.

HEADING HOME

FINAL
REFLECTIONS
ON THE
HUMAN
PROSPECT

by Robert Heilbroner

With the full spectacle of the human prospect before us, the spirit quails and the will falters. We find ourselves pressed to the very limit of our personal capacities, not alone in summoning up the courage to look squarely at the dimensions of the impending predicament, but in finding words that can offer some plausible relief in a situation so bleak. There is now nowhere to turn other than to those private beliefs and disbeliefs that guide each of us through life ...



At this late juncture I have no intention of sounding a call for moral awakening or for social action on some unrealistic scale. Yet, I do not intend to condone, much less to urge, an attitude of passive resignation, or a relegation of the human prospect to the realm of things that we choose not to think about. Avoidable evil remains, as it always will, an enemy that can be defeated; and the fact that the collective destiny of man portends unavoidable travail is no reason and cannot be tolerated as an excuse, for doing nothing. This general admonition applies in particular to the intellectual elements of Western nations whose privileged role as sentries for society takes on a special importance in the face of things as we now see them. It is their task not only to prepare their fellow citizens for the sacrifices that will be required of them but to take the lead in seeking to redefine the legitimate boundaries of power and the permissible sanctuaries of freedom, for a future in which the exercise of power must inevitably increase and many present areas of freedom, especially in economic life, be curtailed.

Let me therefore put these last words in a somewhat more "positive" frame, offsetting to some degree the bleakness of our prospect, without violating the facts or spirit of our inquiry. Here I must begin by stressing for one last time an essential fact. The human prospect is not an irrevocable death sentence. It is not an inevitable doomsday toward which we are headed, although the risk of enormous catastrophes exists. The prospect is better viewed as a formidable array of challenges that must be overcome before human survival is assured, before we can move beyond doomsday. These challenges can be overcome – by the saving intervention of nature if not by the wisdom and foresight of man. The death sentence is therefore better viewed as a contingent life sentence – one that will permit the continuance of human society, but only on a basis very different from that of the present and probably only after much suffering during the period of transition.

What sort of society might eventually emerge? As I have said more than once, I believe the long-term solution requires nothing less than the gradual abandonment of the lethal techniques, the uncongenial lifeways and the dangerous mentality of industrial civilization itself. The dimensions of such a transformation into a "postindustrial"

society have already been touched upon and cannot be greatly elaborated here: in all probability the extent and ramifications of change are as unforeseeable from our contemporary vantage point as present-day society would have been unimaginable to a speculative observer a thousand years ago.

Yet I think a few elements of the society of the postindustrial era can be discerned. Although we cannot know on what technical foundation it will rest, we can be certain that many of the accompaniments of an industrial order must be absent. To repeat once again what we have already said, the societal view of production and consumption must stress parsimonious, not prodigal, attitudes. Resource-consuming and heat-generating processes must be regarded as necessary evils, not as social triumphs, to be relegated to as small a portion of economic life as possible. This implies a sweeping reorganization of the mode of production in ways that cannot be foretold, but that would seem to imply the end of the giant factory, the huge office, perhaps of the urban complex.

What values and ways of thought would be congenial to such a radical reordering of things we also cannot know, but it is likely that the ethos of "science," so intimately linked with industrial application, would play a much reduced role. In the same way, it seems probable that a true postindustrial society would witness the waning of the work ethic that is also intimately entwined with our industrial society. As one critic has pointed out, even Marx, despite his bitter denunciation of the alienating effects of labor in a capitalist milieu, placed his faith in the presumed "liberating" effects of labor in a socialist society, and did not consider it a "terrible secret" that even the most creative work may be only "a neurotic activity that diverts the mind from the diminution of time and the approach of death."

It is therefore possible that a postindustrial society would also turn in the direction of many preindustrial societies: toward the exploration of inner states of experience rather than the outer world of fact and material accomplishment. Tradition and ritual, the pillars of life in virtually all societies other than those of an industrial character, would probably once again assert their ancient claims as the guide to and solace

for life. The struggle for individual achievement, especially for material ends, is likely to give way to the acceptance of communally organized and ordained roles.

This is by no means an effort to portray a future utopia. On the contrary, many of these possible attributes of a postindustrial society are deeply repugnant to my twentieth-century temper as well as incompatible with my most treasured privileges. The search for scientific knowledge, the delight in intellectual heresy, the freedom to order one's life as one pleases, are not likely to be easily contained within the tradition-oriented, static society I have depicted. To a very great degree, the public must take precedence over the private – an aim to which it is easy to give lip service in the abstract but difficult for someone used to the pleasures of political, social and intellectual freedom to accept in fact.

These are all necessarily prophetic speculations, offered more in the spirit of providing some vision of the future, however misty, than as a set of predictions to be "rigorously" examined. In these half-blind groupings there is, however, one element in which we can place credence, although it offers uncertainty as well as hope. This is our knowledge that some human societies have existed for millennia, and that others can probably exist for future millennia, in a continuous rhythm of birth and coming of age and death, without pressing toward those dangerous ecological limits, or engendering those dangerous social tensions, that threaten present-day "advanced" societies. In our discovery of "primitive" cultures, living out their timeless histories, we may have found the single most important object lesson for future man.

What we do not know, but can only hope, is that future man can rediscover the self-renewing vitality of primitive culture without reverting to its levels of ignorance and cruel anxiety. It may be the sad lesson of the future that no civilization is without its pervasive "malaise," each expressing in its own way the ineradicable fears of the only animal that contemplates its own death, but at least the human activities expressing that malaise need not, as is the case in our time, threaten the continuance of life itself.

All this goes, perhaps, beyond speculation to fantasy. But something more substantial than speculation or fantasy is needed to sustain men

through the long trials ahead. For the driving energy of modern man has come from his Promethean spirit, his nervous will, his intellectual daring. It is this spirit that has enabled him to work miracles, above all to subjugate nature to his will, and to create societies designed to free man from his animal bondage.

Some of the Promethean spirit may still serve us in good stead in the years of transition. But it is not a spirit that conforms easily with the shape of future society as I have imagined it; worse, within that impatient spirit lurks one final danger for the years during which we must watch the approach of an unwanted future. This is the danger that can be glimpsed in our deep consciousness when we take stock of things as they now are: the wish that the drama run its full tragic course, bringing man, like a Greek hero, to the fearful end that he has, however unwittingly, arranged for himself. For it is not only with dismay that Promethean man regards the future. It is also with a kind of anger. If after so much effort, so little has been accomplished; if before such vast challenges, so little is apt to be done – then let the drama proceed to its finale, let mankind suffer the end it deserves.

Such a view is by no means the expression of only a few perverse minds. On the contrary, it is the application to the future of the prevailing attitudes with which our age regards the present. When men can generally acquiesce in, even relish, the destruction of their living contemporaries, when they can regard with indifference or irritation the fate of those who live in slums, rot in prison, or starve in lands that have meaning only insofar as they are vacation resorts, why should they be expected to take the painful actions needed to prevent the destruction of future generations whose faces they will never live to see? Worse yet, will they not curse these future generations whose claims to life can be honored only by sacrificing present enjoyments; and will they not, if it comes to a choice, condemn them to nonexistence by choosing the present over the future?

The question, then, is how we are to summon up the will to survive – not perhaps in the distant future, where survival will call on those deep sources of imagined human unity, but in the present and near-term future, while we still enjoy and struggle with the heritage of our personal liberties, our atomistic existences.

At this last moment of reflection another figure from Greek mythology comes to mind. It is that of Atlas, bearing with endless perseverance the weight of the heavens in his hands. If mankind is to rescue life, it must first preserve the very will to live, and thereby rescue the future from the angry condemnation of the present. The spirit of conquest and aspiration will not provide the inspiration it needs for this task. It is the example of Atlas, resolutely bearing his burden, that provides the strength we seek. If, within us, the spirit of Atlas falters, there perishes the determination to preserve humanity at all cost and any cost, forever.

But Atlas is, of course, no other but ourselves. Myths have their magic power because they cast on the screen of our imaginations, like the figures of the heavenly constellations, immense projections of our own hopes and capabilities. We do not know with certainty that humanity will survive, but it is a comfort to know that there exist within us the elements of fortitude and will from which the image of Atlas springs.

Robert Heilbroner, from his 1974 book, *An Inquiry Into the Human Prospect*. Heilbroner also wrote one of the best-selling economics book of all time, selling over 4 million copies, *The Worldly Philosophers: The Lives, Times and Ideas of the Great Economic Thinkers*.

The question, then, is how we are to summon up the will to survive – not perhaps in the distant future, where survival will call on those deep sources of imagined human unity, but in the present and near-term future, while we still enjoy and struggle with the heritage of our personal liberties, our atomistic existences.





WE ARE AN IMAGE FROM THE FUTURE

by Tasos Săgris of the Void Network

It's Autumn 2009, the middle of September, in the daytime.

I walk in the streets of Athens from Monastiraki, the flea market, down from Acropolis, up to Exarchia, through the luxury market area, past Parliament, the business district, the offices, government buildings, bars, cinemas and hotels.

Downtown Athens.

I pass through buildings that burned down completely during the December riots, huge multistory corner buildings, still smelling of fire and rage: silent monuments of an outcry, remains of a thunderbolt that came from the sky and hit the city like a wild nightmare. The city breathes hard work, blackmail, exhaustion, obligation, exploitation and cheap amusements. Museums, galleries, stadiums and clubs inhale fear, misery and rage and turn them into a fake smile.

This ancient city continued on her way to normality, with all her fears and her cheap excuses, walking through this century like a slave girl in a parade, like a chained animal in a global circus, like you and I squandering our last and only lifetimes in a luxury mall or by the pool, drinking an expensive cocktail with our last euros, pretending to be the heroes of a Hollywood movie.

So many cars burned, but the streets are still full of them, going everywhere like empty private countries moving in the city's veins and feeding the crisis. More than 500 shops were turned into debris and ashes, but in this city the market still works like an amusement park in the middle of a vast cemetery. The banks in all the major cities in Greece were smashed and burned, but people are still struggling with their clocks and their suspensions to pay back huge loans and high taxes. The workers' strike was successful, but human beings still spend their lives in offices, keeping in good working order a mechanism that leads life on Earth toward extinction. All the universities were squatted for a month, but the students are still taking exams and dreaming of good careers, good money and two weeks of crazy holidays somewhere away from here.

Nothing changed ... The clock of this world rings us out of sleep at 6:30 in the morning here same as anywhere else. We have to run to survive; we have to obey to stay out of prison; we have to forget our dreams to stay employed; we have to buy our lives from the supermarket and pay for the water we drink and the air we breathe and the place where we sleep.

Nothing changed ... The government announces elections and the parliament is voting on our future; the politicians speak on TV every afternoon and plan our opinions; the policemen put immigrants without papers into concentration camps, and small paramilitary groups of Nazis go around kicking Arabs and Balkan people out of the squares. People go around in the streets like ghosts without lives of their own, and kids spend their time in front of computer screens in dismal internet shops and petit bourgeois apartments.

The same moves, the same decisions, the same confusion, the same doubts, the same wishes, the same answers, the same payments, the same walks, the same bars, the same clothes and shoes and makeup, the same songs and films and television programs, the same apologies, the same timetables. The production goes on and consumption consumes our days; the shops sell dreams that turn every night into individualized fears and collective social apathy.

Society sleeps in the night of oblivion. People try to find a way to live or else to leave, to get away from here. Paradise still waits after death, somewhere beyond our lifetimes. Nothing has changed.

Alexis is still lying dead on that pedestrian street corner in Exarchia.

Nothing changed, but ... everything is different.

To express our rage with words or gestures is useless, ridiculous or dangerous – mindless or false common sense. Only cold-blooded animals are poisonous.

Everything is different ...

More than 100,000 people took part in the insurrection of December 2008 and many more were influenced by those days. They wait in the veins of this society, ready to explode at any moment. Perhaps they can't force the body of society in a specific direction, but when 100,000 cells explode in the veins of the social body, the body collapses – like the Greek state during December 2008. The bureaucrats of the state know this, and so do those in business corporations.

There are thousands of young people walking the streets of this country who, just a few months ago, encircled the police stations of their neighborhoods and threw stones at them, who burned the local banks and refused to go to school or work for weeks.



There are hundreds of workers who forced out the syndicalists at the head of the General Workers Union and assembled in their offices. There are hundreds of thousands of unemployed people who hate the system; there are as many lazy kids who hate working; and there are millions of dissatisfied producers and consumers of a life that offers nothing.

All these lonely people discovered their dignity during the insurrection, experiencing their personal and collective power to explode as the cities and villages caught fire and their horizons opened up beyond the white fog of tear gas. Those horizons remained open night after night and they remain open so long as the memory of the insurrection is a wound in your body and in the body of society.

Through our open wounds we are observing the horizons of our future. We are an image from the future.

There are thousands and thousands of people who don't trust any government and hate the banks and the corporations. The insurrection helped millions of people across the world to stop, to see their lives with the clarity of a flashback, shifting their way of thinking

for a moment and observing this world naked. The fairy tale revealed its ugliest face, and the beautiful smiles of the journalists and politicians froze ... when they were unable to go on with the story that keeps the people in their place.

We stay awake in the deep night of social apathy. Around us millions of people continue sleeping, but their dreams are turning into nightmares that make them sweat as their hearts race and they weep silent teardrops that might wake them at any moment.

There are millions of people who don't trust any official ideology or academic authority or any political leadership, who don't vote for any legal organization, who mistrust rich philanthropists. The people of our times don't believe in any universal truth or any specific lifestyle, any way of life or spiritual value system, any political agenda. They don't read serious political or philosophical books or the announcements of the activists or even the free press except when they are in the metro for fifteen minutes. They don't hear the right-wing president when he speaks or the speeches of the Communist Party; they want to go to a party, get drunk, find a boyfriend, go to the back of the garden and make love in the moonlight.



**EVERYONE KNOWS
THAT CAPITALISM IS
DESTROYING THE PLANET,
TURNING LIFE INTO
COMMODITIES, HUMANITY
INTO A DESTRUCTIVE
MECHANISM; IT IS
SUPPRESSING CREATIVITY,
LOVE AND FANTASY ...**

Nothing changed, but everything is different.

Hundreds of squatted social centers and radical student groups function in the universities, the schools and in the streets of all of Europe. Social initiatives, affinity groups, groups of friends, political gangs and underground meeting points in the streets and in squatted buildings bring the heat of their action into the soft belly of the regime.

Arson attacks, riots, demonstrations, free festivals and distribution of analysis and propaganda are organized every week, day after day, by ordinary people. These actions send signals: that there are targets, that there are institutions to mistrust, places to avoid, ways that have to change, places and relations of enslavement, places and relations of emancipation, points of no return.

Nobody trusts the government. Everyone knows that capitalism is destroying the planet, turning life into commodities, humanity into a destructive mechanism; it is suppressing creativity, love and fantasy; turning basic needs into a constant problem; and offering none of the happiness promised to the ex-Soviet Bloc countries.

Neoliberalism is dying. Everything is different.

We are here in the highways and in the squares, out in the streets, downtown in Exarchia and in the city center, still hanging around on the corner where Alexis liked to meet his friends. A whole new generation of people is around. You make so many new friends during an insurrection: so many new comrades to decide their own future and offer their new directions.

Everything is different. Week after week there are wild demonstrations for Freedom of Public Space from the State, Freedom of Immigrants from Borders, Freedom of All Prisoners from the causes of imprisonment, Freedom for All Workers from their imprisoned lives. These demonstrations are traveling on the body of the city searching for the wild riots of the future, preparing with their chants the spirit of active negation, the fire of radical change, the hope for a general social uprising.

People are beginning to reflect again on what general social revolt will look like. It will look like December 2008 and we are here and waiting.

Now we are here and waiting: for society to digest the smoke of the burned luxuries, to express openly its distrust of state institutions and make directions and decisions that will appear on the social horizon for the first time. Hundreds upon hundreds of small pamphlets of radical analysis are distributed week after week by amateur intellectuals preparing the end of the classical Western way of thinking. Thousands of posters put up in the streets of each neighborhood by the local squats and social centers send a signal to the petite bourgeoisie that the days of obedience, work, consumerism and individualism are coming to an end. Thousands of short films and paragraphs of critical thought use the internet to transmit the real stories of our lives, the real news of our actions, to connect the moments in order to produce the myths and dreams of coming insurrections.

The "important" people of this world try to persuade us that all these are not important. Anyway, they say, all these underground books and pamphlets are published by nonexistent publishers; the short videos on the internet are just childish games for kids and naïve romantics; the radical blogs are not efficient; the squats are places for criminal activity; and the youth cultures are the commodities of the near future. Anyway, they say, nothing changed: The television doesn't speak about "all these" anymore except when a "terrorist" action occurs. The demonstrations are just some small riots around Exarchia. All that happened in December was a childish revolt over the accidental death of a child, which a few isolated anarchists took advantage of to express their nihilism, they say.

At the same time ... "It's midnight in Europe."

There is a feeling of the end of an era all across Europe, and amazing stupidities are happening in the heads of postmodern thinkers as postmodernism dies. Nobody controls the spirit of the age. Nobody can offer solid analysis about what is happening around us. No one can predict what this world will look like in 50 years. Young people smile silently behind their black masks near the barricades, imagining a world with no obligations.

Everything is different. Maybe the elites, the rich, the famous and "important" people act like nothing changed, but nothing is normal anymore and no one has the authority to speak in the name of the people. The people express more mistrust toward the regime than ever, and perhaps they are ready to speak for themselves in such a way that no sociologist or journalist will be capable of understanding their language.

In the night, everywhere, the people speak about the general failure; in the bottom of their hearts, they know that everything has to change, that many things have to burn to ashes for humanity to continue its way in space and time.

I walk around in Exarchia. I pass through the squatted self-organized park, where old people from the neighborhood stay in the shade of trees and speak with young women about last night's police attack on the area. A few meters away, at the place Alexis was shot, there is a marble monument with flowers and posters all around the walls, and a lit candle ... It's early in the afternoon; some young people stand around talking. People from a new squat give me a 32-page pamphlet analyzing everyday racism on a molecular social scale; on the other side of the pedestrian street, I see two people from an underground post-rock band that I know from free festivals talking with members of a DIY drum 'n' bass collective.

No one will propagate a new way of life with words alone. There are no theories that can describe our passions. Maybe we are the ones who will take back our lives from capitalism and aristocracy. Maybe, like Alexis, we will be shot in the streets of our cities. There is no plan or even a specific goal or a single achievement we are fighting for. There are no futuristic visions of paradise inside the heads of the people, not even a wish to be in such a place except perhaps for short-term expensive holidays. We fight to survive, to maintain our dignity, humanity and critical thinking from one day to the next; we fight off the businessmen, politicians, armies and kings of this world as they attempt to steal our future and turn it into coins – day after day after day. We are the survivors of humanity in a war with our most pathetic selves.

We are lost in the darkness of a world in which we are strangers, foreigners, customers, guests, separate individuals; or we are just slaves that share some small personal salary to survive. We are survivors in the desert. When we meet, we meet in void; in void we live, the void we share. When we decide to attack, our attack is like thunder that comes from outer space and breaks the night of social apathy. We are waiting, waiting for the proper moment ...

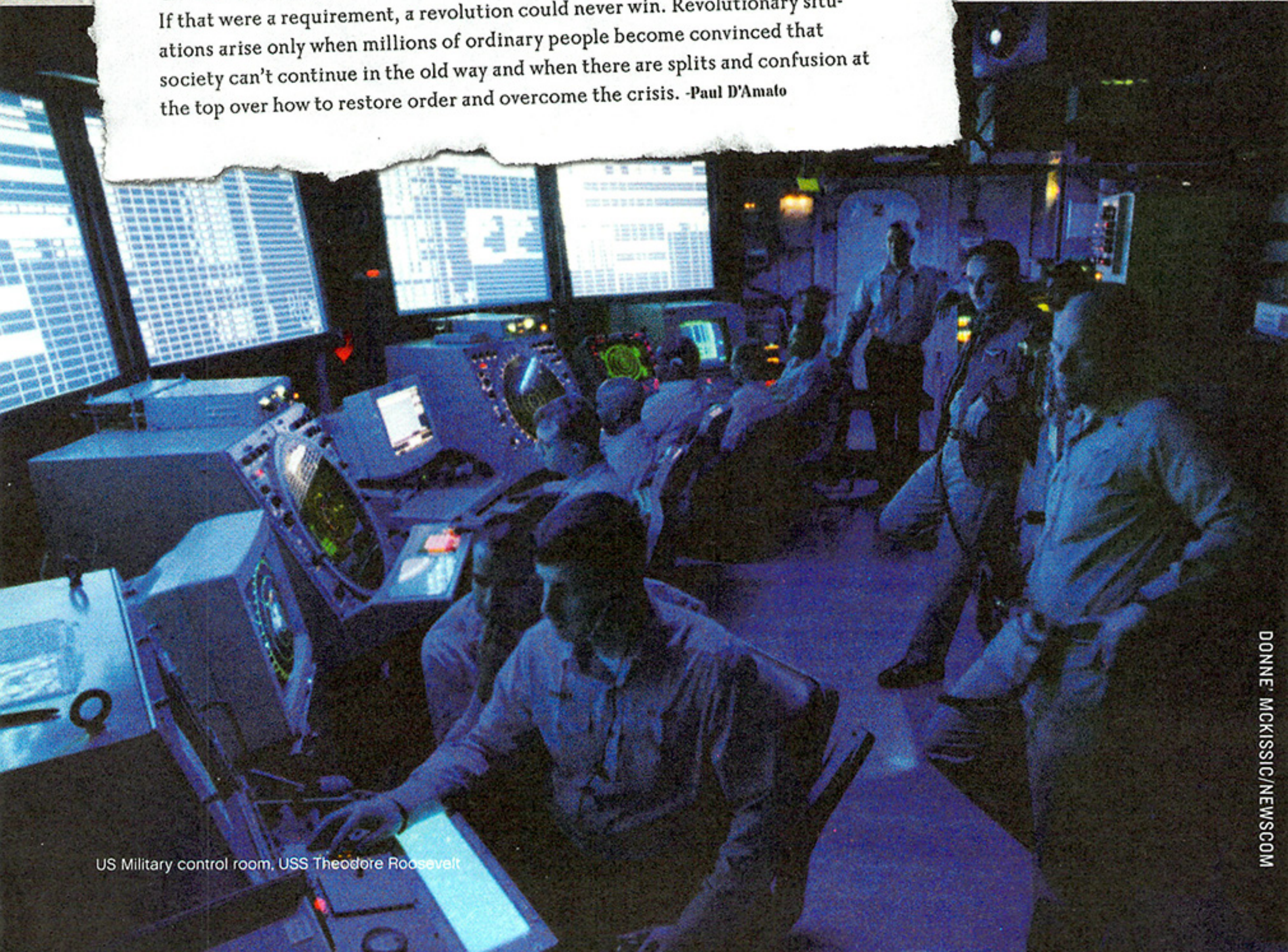
Nothing will stay like it was.

We are an image from the future.

Tasos Sagris is a poet and writer. He is a member of the Void Network – a cultural activism, theory and ephemeral arts collective founded in 1990 in Athens, with cells now in London, New York and Rio de Janeiro. His book of poetry, *About Human Love in the Western Metropolitan Cities*, was published in 2008 in Greece. voidnetwork.blogspot.com



Revolutions succeed not because those who are rebelling have superior arms. If that were a requirement, a revolution could never win. Revolutionary situations arise only when millions of ordinary people become convinced that society can't continue in the old way and when there are splits and confusion at the top over how to restore order and overcome the crisis. -Paul D'Amato

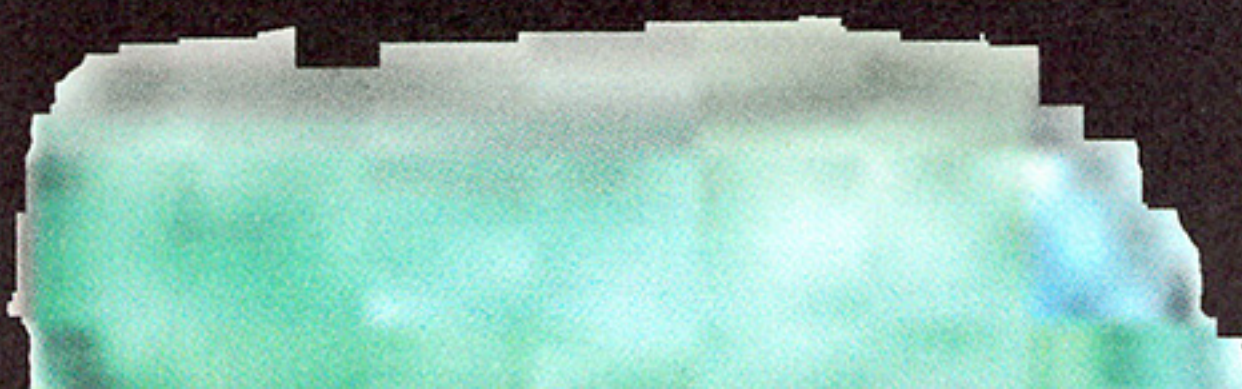


US Military control room, USS Theodore Roosevelt



Paris Protests, October 2010

Let me say, at risk of seeming ridiculous, that the true revolutionary is guided by great feelings of love.
-Che Guevara



STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION
 ADJUSTERS: Inspection (Publication Number: 0947-9037) is published by Adjusters Media Foundation by monthly. Filing date: 09-24-2007. Number of issues published annually: 12. Annual subscription price: \$40.00. The company's mailing address and General Business Offices of the Publisher are located at 1243 West 7th Ave, Vancouver, BC, Canada, V6H 1B7. There are no known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding a percent of the total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities. The tax status, the purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for federal income purposes have not changed during the preceding 12 months. Issue date for circulation data: November/December 2007. Extent and Nature of Circulation: as follows: Total number of copies (net press run) average number of copies each issue during preceding 12 months: 75,000. Number of copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: 42,128. Mailed outside country paid subscription standard PS Form 3541: average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: 15,000. Number of copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: 10,977. Mailed outside country paid subscription standard PS Form 3541: average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: 15,000. Number of copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: 23,250. Paid distribution by other classes of mail through the USPS: average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: 1,000. Number of copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: 4,500. Free or nominal rate in-country copies included on PS Form 3541: average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: 5,000. Number of copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: 1,000. Free or nominal rate outside country copies included on PS Form 3541: average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: 2,000. Number of copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: 5,000. Total distribution: average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: 52,000. Number of copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: 22,267. Total average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: 75,000. Number of copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: 42,128. Percent paid average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: 68%. Number of copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: 10,977. Annual publication of this statement required. Published January/February 2008. Adjusters Media Foundation

The known office of publication is Adjusters Media Foundation, 1243 West 7th Ave, Vancouver, BC V6H 1B7. Mailed in the USA by First-Class Bulk Rate. Postmaster: Send address changes to Adjusters Media Foundation, 1243 West 7th Ave, Vancouver, BC V6H 1B7. Printed in the USA. Single subscription price: \$3.95. Annual Subscription Price: USA and Canada: \$38. International: \$47. Two Year Subscription Price: USA and Canada: \$58. International: \$65.

Richard Lautens, courtesy the *Toronto Star*



Our Revolution

We are a global network of culture jammers: writers, artists, designers, rabble rousers ... hackers, philosophers, pranksters, poets and punks who believe that mental environmentalism is the defining social struggle of our era. We vow to change the way information flows and to shake up the production of meaning in our society. Our aim is to catalyze a sudden, unexpected moment of truth – a mass reversal of perspective; a global mindshift – from which the corporate/consumerist forces never fully recover. Join our revolution at adbusters.org.

Nuestra Revolución

Somos una red mundial de culture jammers, provocadores culturales: escritores, artistas, diseñadores, alborotadores ... hackers, filósofos, bromistas, poetas y punks que creen firmemente que el ambientalismo mental es la lucha social de nuestro tiempo. Nos comprometemos a cambiar el modo en que circula la información y a conmocionar la producción de sentido en nuestra sociedad. Nuestro objetivo es catalizar un instante de verdad repentino e inesperado – dar vuelta la tortilla de la perspectiva; lograr un cambio de opinión global – del cual las fuerzas corporativas/consumistas nunca se recuperen del todo. Únete a nuestra revolución en adbusters.org.

OUR REVOLUTION

我们的革命

我们这些全球的‘文化干扰者’作家、画家、设计师、暴民煽动者... 黑客、哲学家、恶作剧者、诗人和朋克相信我们个人在心理上对环境保护的观念就是我们现代社会所面对的一大困境。我们发誓将改变信息传达的方式，让我们的社会增添多一些意义。我们的目的就是要制造那意想不到的真实时刻 – 可将转变我们对世界的观点，把全球的视角转移到另一个角度，好让那消费主义势力不在和以前一样强。现在就加入我们的革命吧 adbusters.org

A Nossa Revolução

Somos uma rede global de agitadores culturais: escritores, artistas, designers, sonhadores ... hackers, filósofos, brincalhões, poetas e punks que acreditam que o ambientalismo mental é a luta decisiva da nossa era. Agimos para mudar o modo como a informação flui e para agitar a produção de significado na nossa sociedade. O nosso objectivo é catalisar um súbito e inesperado momento de verdade – uma inversão de perspectiva das massas; uma evolução global da qual as forças consumistas/corporativas nunca recuperarão completamente. Junta-te à nossa revolução em adbusters.org.

Notre Révolution

Nous sommes un réseau mondial d'agitateurs culturels: écrivains, artistes, designers, fomenteurs de troubles, hackers, philosophes, entarteurs, poètes et autres punks ... qui croient que l'Environnementalisme Spirituel est le combat social clé de notre ère. Nous souhaitons modifier la façon de faire circuler l'information et voulons bousculer la production de sens dans notre société. Notre but est de catalyser un moment de vérité soudain et inattendu – un renversement massif des perspectives, un changement global des esprits – duquel nos régimes affairistes/consuméristes ne se remettront jamais complètement. Venez rejoindre notre révolution sur adbusters.org.

Vår Revolution

Vi är ett globalt nätverk av kulturstörare: skribenter, konstnärer, designers, uppvigglare, hackare, filosofer, skojare, poeter och rötägg som är övertygade om att vår tankemiljö är det viktigaste slagfältet i vår tid. Vi är fast beslutna att ändra sättet som information förmedlas på och att omvandla skapandet av mening i vårt samhälle. Vårt mål är att få till stånd ett plötsligt, oväntat ögonblick av sanning – en enorm perspektivvändning; en global sinnesväxling – från vilket företagskrafterna och konsumisterna aldrig hämtar sig. Anslut er till vår revolution på adbusters.org.

Unsere Revolution

Wir sind ein globales Netzwerk von Culture Jammern: Schriftsteller, Künstler, Designer, Aufwiegler ... Hacker, Philosophen, Witzbolde, Dichter und Punks, die daran glauben, dass der mentale Umweltschutz der ausschlaggebende soziale Kampf unserer heutigen Zeit ist. Wir schwören, die Art und Weise von Informationsflüssen zu ändern und die Definition von Bedeutung in unserer Gesellschaft wachzurütteln. Unser Ziel ist es, einen schlagartigen, unerwarteten Moment der Wahrheit zu initiieren – einen Massenumschwung der Perspektive, ein globaler Mindshift, von dem die profitorientierten Konzerne sich nie vollständig erholen werden. Mach mit bei unserer Revolution auf adbusters.org.

La Nostra Rivoluzione

Siamo una rete globale di culture jammers: scrittori, artisti, designer, agitatori ... hacker, filosofi, burloni, poeti e punk che credono che l'ambientalismo mentale sia la lotta sociale che contraddistingue la nostra era. Noi giuriamo di cambiare il modo in cui circola l'informazione e di scuotere la produzione di significati nella nostra società. Il nostro obiettivo è quello di catalizzare un improvviso, inaspettato momento di verità – un rovesciamento di massa della prospettiva; un cambiamento mentale globale – da cui le forze delle corporation/consumistiche mai si riprenderanno pienamente. Unisciti alla nostra rivoluzione su adbusters.org.

Наша революция

Мы – глобальная сеть баламутов культуры. Мы – писатели, художники, дизайнеры, возмутители покоя ... хакеры, философы, шутники, поэты и панки, которые считают, что ментальная защита окружающей среды является главнейшей социальной борьбой нашей эры. Мы клянемся изменить поток информации и обновить производство смысла в нашем обществе. Наша цель – активизировать внезапный момент истины – массовое изменение перспективы, глобальный переворот сознания – после которых корпоративные и потребительские силы никогда полностью не восстановятся. Присоединяйтесь к нашей революции на adbusters.org

ثورتنا

Bizim Devrimiz

Biz, küresel bir ađ olan kùltür aktivistler, yazarlar, sanatçılar, tasarımcılar, kıldkirtıcı ayaktakımı, hackerlar, filozoflar, mizahçılar, ðairler, ve punkçular, zihinsel çevrecilik çağımızın belirleyici toplumsal mücadelesi olduğuna inanan serserileriz. Bilgi akıdının yönünü deđiđtirmeye cesaret ediyoruz ve toplumda anlam üretimi sarsmak için yemin ediyoruz. Amacımız gerçeđi hiç beklenmedik dođrunun bir anında, katalize etmektir, kitle bakıđ açıldđ dönüđtürerek ve küresel bir zihin kaymasını yaratarak, ki kurumsal güçlerinin bundan asla tamamen iyileđmeyecek. adbusters.org adresindeki devrimine katıl.

نحن شبكة عالمية من مشوشي الثقافة؛ كتاب/كاتبات، فنانون/ات، مصممون/ات، محرضون/ات... قراصنة كمبيوتر، فلاسفة، مشاكسون/ات، شعراء/شاعرات و "بانك" مؤمنون/ات بأن حماية البيئة النفسية هو النضال الاجتماعي الحاسم في عصرنا. نأخذ عهداً بأن نغير الطريقة التي تنتشر فيها المعلومات و أن نحدث هزة في انتاج المعني في مجتمنا. هدفنا أن نحفز للحظة حقيقة مفاجئة وغير متوقعة - قلب شامل في المنظور : تحول فكري كوني - لن تتمكن القوي التجارية/الاستهلاكية أن تتعافى تماماً منها. انخرطوا في ثورتنا على adbusters.org

Onze Revolutie

Wij zijn een mondiaal netwerk van cultuurkrakers: schrijvers, artiesten, ontwerpers, herrieschoppers ... hackers, filosofen, grappenmakers, dichters en punkers die ervan overtuigd zijn dat de sociale strijd van vandaag plaatsvindt op het niveau van een mentaal milieubewustzijn. We streven ernaar de informatiestroom te veranderen en de betekenisproductie in onze maatschappij overhoop te halen. Ons doel is het teweegbrengen van een plots, onverwacht moment van waarheid – een omkering van de heersende opvatting; een mondiale mindshift – waar de bedrijfs – en consumentenkrachten nooit volledig van zullen herstellen. Sluit je aan bij onze revolutie op adbusters.org.

私たちの革命

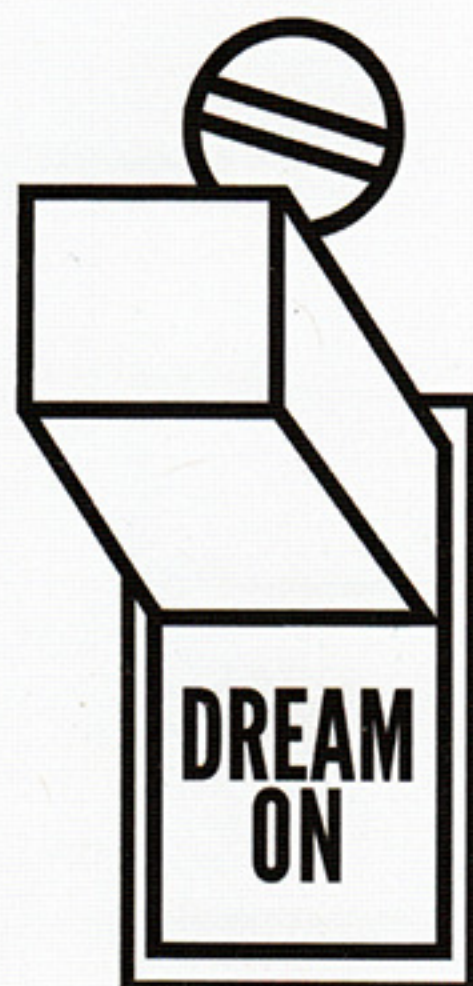
私たちは「カルチャー・ジャマー」の世界規模ネットワークです。「カルチャー・ジャマー」とは、作家、アーティスト、デザイナー、民衆扇動家...そしてハッカー、哲学者、いたずら者、詩人、パンクなど、人間の精神環境の改善・保護こそが、今の時代における私たちが挑むべき社会的課題であると信じる人々のことです。私たちは、世の中の情報の流れ方を変え、現代社会において意味や価値観が形成されていくその過程に揺さぶりをかけることを誓います。私たちの目標は、突然の思いがけない「真実の瞬間」を引き起こす触媒として、企業や消費主義者の権力によって決して覆し得ない集団的観点の転換、すなわち、世界規模での思考転換を引き起こすことです。adbusters.org にアクセスして、私たちの革命に参加して下さい。

I propose that all of us, both individually and in our immediate circle, cultivate a sense of restlessness and readiness for the coming change in consciousness. Let us withdraw not only our votes from the Great Machine and its servants. Wherever possible we must altogether stop playing that game, and we must gradually incapacitate everything that runs in the old direction: military installations and freeways, nuclear power stations and airports, chemical factories and large hospitals, supermarkets and factory-like educational institutions...

Let us reflect on how we can feed, warm, clothe, educate and keep ourselves healthy independently of the Great Machine. Let us begin working on our indepedence from it now – before it has total control of us, concreting us in, poisoning us, suffocating us and, sooner rather than later, subjecting us to total atomic annihilation.

Rudolf Bahro

NOVEMBER 26
IS
BUY NOTHING DAY



DECEMBER 1 – 25
IS
BUY NOTHING CHRISTMAS
A SEASON OF JOY, FRUGALITY AND REPENTANCE.